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Campaign issues, 1930

New York

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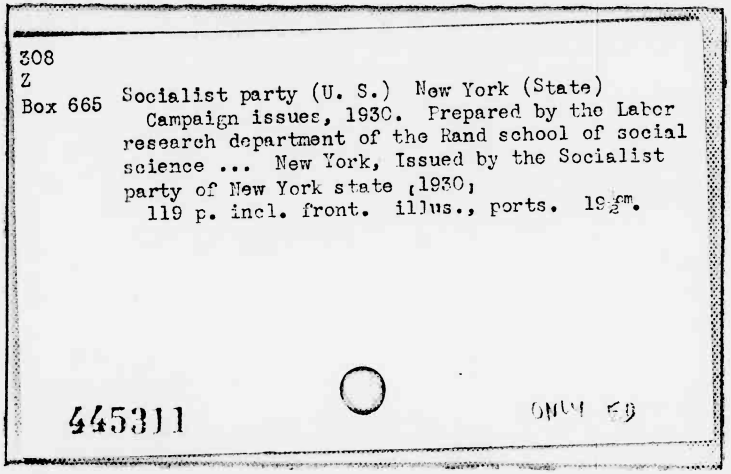
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Attacking Corruption At Its Source
Society's Crime Against Criminals
Housing Within People's Means
Abolishing Labor Injunctions
Adequate Aid To Farmers
Forward To Socialism

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FOR GOVERNOR

Louis Waldman

Campaign Issues 1930

Prepared by the

LABOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

of the

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

NATHAN FINE, *Director*

Contributors

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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NEW YORK STATE PLATFORM

SOCIALIST PARTY, 1930

Preamble

Two years ago the Socialist Party alone spoke the truth about the spotted and highly exaggerated prosperity of America. Today an army of millions of unemployed bears tragic witness to the inevitable failure of a capitalist system run for private profit to provide even elementary security for workers. The economic depression now sweeping the country has brought bitter misery into the lives and homes of millions of workers.

We also called attention to the inevitable growth of mergers under the capitalist system. Chain stores, chain banks, and public utility combinations have displaced hundreds of thousands of independent economic lives, and further concentrated power and control of the country in the hands of capitalist magnates. This speaks louder than words for collective ownership and social control of the vital industries.

With these facts in mind, we call again on workers in factory, farm, home, school, and office to unite in their own political party and to organize on the economic field to win for the people ownership and control of those things necessary for their common life, to the end that Plenty, Peace and Freedom be established among us.

The old parties, both belonging to the same interests, both tools of the owning class, have failed not only in fundamental issues but even in the immediate task of efficient and progressive government.

The Republican majority in the legislature has done nothing except to yield minor concessions wrung from it by pressure of public demand. It took the Socialist proposal for old-age pensions and perverted it into a mere annex of the poor law.

Political strategy has forced the Democrats to make some show of liberalism, but of a liberalism neither sincere nor intelligent, much less adequate to the demands of the times.

Governor Roosevelt's Failure

Governor Roosevelt has been compelled by his party connections to give Tammany what it wanted.

He has appointed machine candidates to important offices, even the judiciary.

He has investigated Republican dereliction upstate, but has steadily ignored all requests for investigation of the most direct and specific charges against the Tammany-McCooey ring in New York City.

He has vetoed laws looking to honest elections and a fair apportionment of legislative districts.

He has taken only partial and inadequate steps, under great pressure, to improve the banking administration of the state.

To please his machine allies he vetoed a bill forbidding a salary grab such as disgraced the Walker administration, thus encouraging Tammany to make another brazen raid on the public treasury to the extent of a half a million dollars annually.

Nor has he a consistent or constructive social program. He has proposed no measures to meet the pressing problem of unemployment.

He has not sought to make workmen's compensation insurance an exclusive activity of the state so as to eliminate the delay and injustice which

private insurance companies put in the way of administering the Compensation Act.

Even his boasted water-power measure consists of nothing more than a proposal for a commission to investigate the possibility of developing St. Lawrence power under state ownership. In his message to the legislature he deliberately omitted to urge state development of the rich water-power resources of Niagara Falls and the intra-state sites. He approved a wholly unjustifiable scheme, which will benefit no one but the Power Trust interests.

For the whole problem of public utilities he has advanced nothing except the futile scheme of regulating private companies.

Contrasting this record of failure, we Socialists present the following immediate program:

Unemployment

Unemployment is a product of capitalism, with its private ownership and unregulated and irresponsible direction of the industries. It can only be totally eliminated by a system of planned production and distribution for social use. Even now, however, immediate steps can and should be taken to relieve the tragic situation of the unemployed. We demand:

(1) The immediate launching of public works on an extensive scale by the state, city, and county governments, and the prompt introduction of long range planning of all future public works.

(2) The establishment of additional state and city public employment offices in connection with a federal system, under strict civil service, and adequately financed.

(3) The shortening of the work-day to a maximum of 6 hours; a 5-day week; the ratification of the federal child labor amendment; absolute prohibition of child labor up to 16; compensation on

discharge by public and private employers, dependent upon length of service; an old-age pension at sixty.

(4) State insurance against unemployment.

Social Insurance

In addition, we favor the establishment of a comprehensive system of social insurance, with adequate benefits, to include provision against economic losses resulting from sickness, accident, maternity and death, and to be administered by public agencies with adequate labor representation.

We favor the state insurance fund as the only carrier of workmen's compensation.

Injunctions

We unreservedly support the demand of organized labor that no injunction shall be issued in any labor dispute except after full trial of all issues in open court, and that all proceedings to punish for contempt in such actions be tried by a jury, presided over by a judge other than the one who issued the injunction.

We believe, however, that the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes, no matter in what manner and on what grounds, is unjustifiable and oppressive, and we demand the enactment of appropriate legislation or constitutional amendment to prohibit this misuse of the injunctive process.

We demand legislation declaring illegal the "yellow-dog" contracts which prevent the workers from joining trade unions.

Public Utilities

We favor the public ownership and democratic control of large scale industries and public utilities —such as transportation facilities, telephone and telegraph, gas and electric systems, and natural resources.

To the end of supplying the people of our state with abundant and cheap electrical energy, we demand:

(1) The conservation and public development of all available water-power resources of the state;

(2) The recapture from private companies of the state's water-power resources;

(3) The distribution by public agencies at cost of all electrical energy; and

(4) Appropriate legislation to empower districts and municipalities to generate and distribute electricity.

Agriculture

We demand:

(1) The public electrification of farm and rural areas.

(2) A state policy of vigorous encouragement for farmers' co-operative organizations.

(3) Establishment of adequate public marketing agencies.

(4) Appropriate legislation enabling the purchase and distribution by public agencies of milk and milk products.

(5) State insurance of crops.

(6) Reforestation of marginal farm lands.

(7) Improvement and extension of the rural school system.

(8) State aid for the improvement of rural roads.

Housing

(1) We demand enabling legislation to permit municipalities to build and rent homes to people at cost.

(2) We favor the extension of public credit to home builders and the encouragement, by financial aid, of genuine co-operative enterprises.

(3) We demand legislation providing state-wide minimum standards of ventilation, sanitation and safety in the construction of multiple dwellings.

Prohibition

The Socialist Party recognizes the right of the government to restrict or prohibit the use of any article noxious to public health or welfare. Such action, however, can be effective only if it is in accord with public opinion.

The Eighteenth Amendment was enacted in the post-war atmosphere of hysteria and did not reflect the mature judgment and will of the people. Largely for this reason Prohibition is practically unenforced and a fertile source of lawlessness and corruption. It occupies public attention to the exclusion of more vital social and economic issues.

The Socialist Party proposes that the whole question of prohibition be re-submitted to the citizens by referendum in each state in order to determine whether the majority desires the continuation of the prohibition amendment, or its repeal or modification, and that the deliberate will of the people thus ascertained be enacted by appropriate Congressional legislation or Constitutional amendment or both.

Crime

Tragic rebellions in the prisons of the state have revealed conditions unbelievably inefficient and cruel.

As measures to cope with increasing crime in the state, we demand a program of prison building and prison administration adapted to humane and scientific treatment of delinquents. We favor revision of the penal law in line with scientific penology.

We favor the repeal of the provisions of the Baumes Law requiring mandatory life sentences for fourth offenders. We demand the abolition of capital punishment.

Crime is in large measure rooted in our social and economic system. All efforts to cope with the problem through punitive and repressive measures necessarily fail. We favor attacking crime at its source by assuring decent living standards through higher wages and shorter hours; by adequate housing facilities within the workers' means; by better and higher free education; by social insurance to do away with insecurity in the workers' life; by adequate recreational facilities.

Militarism

We demand that the public school system be kept free from militarism and we condemn all use of state funds to promote military training.

Civil Liberties

We favor the enactment of laws providing for the right to a jury trial in all criminal cases.

We favor the repeal of the Criminal Anarchy Law.

We favor the enactment of laws restoring to the people the right to be secure against unlawful search and seizure.

Proportional Representation

Considering the necessity of reapportioning representation in the legislative bodies in New York State, we urge that any changes made in such representation shall include the principle of proportional representation for all political parties.

Taxation and Budget

We favor the rigorous elimination of waste resulting from inefficiency and corruption.

The state budget must provide decent care for its wards, proper education for its young and a fund for social insurance.

The funds for these purposes should come primarily from a tax on the higher income brackets and from a properly graduated income tax.

To establish sound financing, abolish slums, to create the City Beautiful visioned by the city planners, society should be enabled to recover the land rental values which it creates, but which are now taken by private landlords and real estate speculators whose wealth is multiplied by every public improvement.

Municipalities, therefore, should be given power by constitutional amendment to recover through taxation the economic rent of the land and to lighten the tax on improvements.

This would relieve the dangerous burden of real estate taxation on the small home owner who now pays a heavy tax on his home which the speculative land owner escapes. It would make possible scientific city planning and an equitable financing of public improvements.

Conclusion

The Socialist Party appeals to the wage and salaried workers, to the working farmers and all those who champion their interest, to march forward for our common liberation from exploitation and class strife; from mismanagement and waste; from poverty and unemployment; from the ever present menace of war and the crushing burden of militarism; from the destruction of our civil liberties and the corruption of our political institutions to the security and justice which the realization of Socialism assures.

FOR GOVERNOR
LOUIS WALDMAN

At the conclusion of a three-cornered political debate before a huge Brooklyn audience, Clarence Darrow, relentless political opponent, strode over to his Socialist opponent. "Well, Mr. Waldman, you won the debate," Darrow drawled. And it was probably the first and the last time the great liberal attorney ever admitted defeat in an exchange of ideas. The third debater, Meier Steinbrink, then as now an influential Republican leader, had dropped out of the fight in its earlier stages.

Winning is a habit with Louis Waldman, the Socialist Party's Candidate for Governor of New York State. He is unique among Socialists in that most of his contests for political office have seen him victorious. In the building of a minority party to a position where it challenges and finally takes over the power of government, there are countless scores of sturdy campaigners who take the count for decades before they win.

Mr. Waldman entered politics first in 1916. In 1917 he was elected to the New York state legislature; then re-elected three times in lightning succession at regular and special elections.

The most important of Louis Waldman's victories have not been his triumphs at the polls. There is no man in private life without the power of a legislative, administrative, executive or judicial office—except if it be Norman Thomas, Waldman's constant co-worker and associate,—who has fought as many winning battles for political morality and public welfare as has Louis Waldman.

The field of his interests have been as broad as those of the people of his state. Water power, public utilities, agriculture, social legislation, crime prevention, political honesty, housing—these are but a few of the subjects in which Waldman is an acknowledged authority. Yet his interest in them has not been merely academic. He has translated these issues into matters of vital concern to the people and has fought these issues through in the legislative halls, in the public press and on the public platform.

Early Life

When a lad of eleven Louis Waldman was at work as a clerk, little dreaming that a short span of 27 years would find him 5,000 miles from his native village leading one of the three major political parties in a contest for governor of the Empire State of the Union.

Louis Waldman was born 38 years ago in a Ukrainian farming town. The river Ubert skirted the village and on its tides rode hundreds and thousands of sturdy tree trunks felled in near-by lumber camps. Waldman found his first employment "bookkeeping" for a lumber company. His education until the age of 16 was confined to the instruction of a private tutor; schools and libraries were heard of but never seen. He worked 14 hours a day. His eager and growing mind had no opportunity to expand. The young clerk at 18 left Russia for the United States.

Within three weeks after his arrival in New York, in September of 1909, Waldman was a student in a public night school. Simultaneously he set out to earn his living, working as a clothing cutter. His first real contact with Socialist figures came in 1910 during the famous strike of cloakmakers in which Waldman joined. Former Congressman Meyer London was the leader and ideal of all the strikers. Earlier in the year he had heard a Socialist speech for the first time,—from Jacob

Panken. He was beginning to be politically interested but not in any active sense.

Civil Engineer and Lawyer

From night high school in 1910, Waldman entered Cooper Union in 1911 to study civil engineering. His five years at Cooper Union supplied a valuable technical training. All this time Waldman worked at his trade by day and studied by night. In 1911 for seven months he felt acutely for the first time the harsh clash of industrial injustice. He had objected to working side-by-side with non-union workers. As a result his employer declared a lockout of union members.

During those seven months, Waldman was literally on the point of starvation. However, he found some consolation in the leisure afforded him, and under the grueling circumstances of his joblessness made the public library his second home. Now for the first time he began to read the political literature of America. In 1912, Waldman had made up his mind that his ideas squared with those of the Socialist Party and he became one of its active workers. In 1916, his district, the 8th Manhattan, picked him as its standard-bearer. With a campaign fund of $200 and with his party's press frankly skeptical of any possible good result, Waldman came within 200 votes of election in one of Tammany's strongest districts.

In the meantime Waldman was by no means satisfied that his education was completed. Having finished his work at Cooper Union in 1916, he went to work as a junior engineer on the New York subway system then under construction. His engineering study was followed by his entrance in the New York Law School. His subsequent political and public activities ran concurrently with his nightly studies to enter the legal profession.

Fight Against War

The World War made a profound impress on Waldman's mind, as it did with every young man

and woman alert to the implications of a conflict that engulfed all the leading nations of the world. With his fellow-Socialists and with the leaders of progressive thought, Waldman took up the real battle for a warless world. The people of his assembly district were with him and they sent him as their spokesman to the conference of the People's Council for Democracy and Peace. Waldman was then in the employ of the Public Service Commission and his direct superior, Clifton Holland, builder of the great tunnel that spans the bottom of the Hudson river, preferred charges of "activity unbecoming a public employee." Oscar Strauss acted as referee, listened to the charges and to the defense,—and dismissed the complaint as unwarranted. His right to the job established, Waldman handed in his resignation.

At that time the people of his district had more important work for Waldman. The eighth assembly district in 1917 elected him to the legislature for the first time. He was barely 25 then and his election was a tribute to a level head of an exceedingly vigorous young man. He was elected in 1917 by a larger vote than that given both his Democratic and Republican opponent. In 1918 it required a fusion of both old parties to keep him out of office. At that, he was defeated by 100 votes; 180 votes—more than enough to elect him —had been stolen by a bit of bi-partisan vote-stealing in which the Democratic and Republican organizations combined. In 1919 Waldman was re-elected. Refused his seat because he was a Socialist, Waldman triumphed in the special election of 1920, and was again unseated.

Louis Waldman may well be proud of the part he and his party played in the now infamous Albany ouster. Elected by uncontested majorites, returned again and again by his constituents, Waldman was nevertheless refused a seat because he belonged to the Socialist Party and refused to

change his loyalty. Waldman fought a battle for representative government that has won him the thanks of liberty-loving American men and women of all political parties.

Legislative Experience

In the legislature, Waldman was a fearless champion of the people's good, an assemblyman of matchless logic, of impenetrable factual arguments. In the assembly Waldman proposed the first social insurance bill that ever saw the light of day in Albany. It proposed insurance of the workers against losses due to unemployment, insecurity in old age, sickness, disability and maternity. In it was embodied the idea of the old-age pension agitation of today. Ten years after Waldman first proposed an old-age pension, the old parties took it up, emasculated it and placed Mastick's poor relief law on the statute books. Waldman's water power bill was endorsed by the State Conference of Mayors in 1918 though its author was a member of the Socialist Party. Another feature of Waldman's legislative service was his bill on the high cost of living which would have cut the price of food necessities to the consumers by eliminating the parasitic middlemen and creating state purchasing and selling agencies.

From 1921 to 1928 Waldman was a no less valuable public servant than during his legislative years on Capitol Hill. No just cause sought his services but he gave freely of his time and his energy. In the course of these years he was admitted to the Bar and his fights in the courts of the city are literally sprinkled with incidents of hard-fought battles for labor, for civil rights, for consumers' interests.

Unofficial Voice of the People

Waldman's greatest service has been rendered however as a private citizen who though unat-

tached to any political payroll considered public affairs the concern of all forward-looking citizens.

As co-chairman with Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party committee on public affairs, Louis Waldman recently brought to a halt the attempted looting of the consumers by the New York Edison Company which under the false guise of a rate reduction actually attempted to boost rates for 57 per cent of the consumers of electricity. He has fought unceasingly for the development of New York's fabulous power resources by the state for the people, rather than by the state for the private utility companies as Governor Roosevelt proposes.

In the height of last winter's unemployment and again this summer, Waldman urged on the governor a special legislative session to plan relief for the hundreds of thousands of jobless who were starving in silence, borrowing or begging, because they were out of jobs through no fault of their own.

When the New York Old-Age Security Commission brought in recommendations for a bill which would make degraded paupers of the aged poor, Waldman travelled to Albany and fought for a real pension law adequate to the needs of the aged and cleansed of the stigma of charity.

Waldman has fought with his characteristic vigor for honest election laws and for a more democratic apportionment of political power.

While Governor Roosevelt has closed his eyes to the debauchery of New York City by Tammany Hall, Waldman fought through the press and on the platform for an investigation which would seek out the corruptionists and turn the spotlight on their systematic mulcting of the greatest city of the world.

Eminently Able and Effective

These battles have forced results. Gov. Roosevelt was at first inclined to accept the Edison

Company's fraudulent "reduction." After Waldman's criticism, he turned cold to the idea. Under pressure of Louis Waldman and other Socialists, the governor admitted the possibility of state distribution of electricity as well as state ownership. Three months after Waldman espoused a program of unemployment relief, including unemployment insurance, Gov. Roosevelt announced his discovery of the idea. But the governor was careful to wait until the legislature had adjourned and until he was outside of the state before he declared himself. After ignoring Waldman's plea for an investigation of New York City's government, the governor was finally forced to accede in part.

In offering Louis Waldman as its Candidate for Governor the Socialist Party does so in the belief that what the State of New York needs is not a timid pupil who learns only as the pressure of practical politics forces him to, but rather a political leader of fearless statesmanship, clear vision, and constructive social policy. The Socialist Party takes pride in offering Louis Waldman to the voters of New York State.

The Socialist Party presents its platform and its candidates for national, state, and city office in the belief that only as the people vote for a party with a fundamental program of reconstruction, for a party that has for its goal the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism, will they ever secure the kind of government they are justly entitled to.

RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM FOR NEW YORK STATE

LOUIS WALDMAN
Candidate for Governor, Socialist Party

To the people of the State of New York:

The Socialist Party is in this campaign of 1930 to replace the planless, incompetent, self-seeking, and corrupt Republican and Democratic Party rule by a planful, intelligent, constructive, and honest administration of the state government.

We face today vital and significant social problems, upon the solution of which the maintenance of democratic institutions depend. The problems which our government must deal with are no longer merely matters of efficient administration of this or that political department, important though that may be. They concern vital public activities and important economic functions.

We have made great technical progress in industry, banking, commerce, and transportation. We cannot afford to remain old-fashioned and antiquated in our political thinking and practice. Our government and its machinery must not lag behind the times. In the age of airplanes our government still travels in horse and buggy.

James W. Gerard, the ex-ambassador to Germany, stated on August 21, 1930, that 59 men, almost entirely industrialists and financiers, rule the United States.

"They themselves," he declared, "are too busy to hold political offices, but they determine who shall hold such office." Such an admission from a leading Democrat, who is no novice in American

politics, must arouse thoughtful citizens to the menace to free institutions from a handful of self-appointed economic rulers and their political puppets.

Who appointed these men whom Mr. Gerard has singled out as the rulers of America? What check have the people over them? To whom are they accountable? And how do they determine who shall hold political office, and who shall not? These 59 industrialists and bankers and others do in fact rule this country. They do so by reason of their economic power, which a complacent and supine bi-partisan Republican and Democratic rule has permitted them to build up. The great mass of the people, as producers and consumers, pay heavy tribute to these real rulers of the nation. At the same time their Republican and Democratic agents in office pretend to a political democracy which is impossible alongside an industrial and financial autocracy.

The Socialist Party denies the right of these men to rule. Democracy must be restored to the people of the United States. True lovers of our country will and must rally to the standard of the Socialist Party which alone can preserve political democracy by establishing industrial democracy.

The struggle between the Socialist Party and the Democratic and Republican Parties thus revolves around a conflict of social theory. The old parties place at the disposal of the industrial autocracy the governmental machinery of city, state, and nation. The Socialist Party demands that the agencies of government be used in the interest of the producers and consumers, the overwhelming majority of the people. Intelligent voters, therefore, must decide in this election between the forces of reaction or false liberalism, represented by the Republican and Democratic Parties, and the party of progress and social justice, the Socialist Party.

Governor Roosevelt's Affiliations

In our state the political rule for the last eight years has been bi-partisan. The legislature has been Republican, the governor has been Democratic. New York City, with half the population of the state, has been ruled by Mr. Roosevelt's party since 1917.

In this campaign we shall not be content to judge either the legislature or the governor by their words. We shall judge them by their deeds, by their record of what they have done and what they have left undone.

This examination of the record shows that neither party has shown leadership or appreciation of the government's responsibilities in public affairs. Neither has grasped the social implications of the great technical and social changes that have taken place before our eyes.

The Republican-controlled legislature has been frankly reactionary and has made a virtue of it.

Governor Roosevelt, forced to do so by his position as leader of the opposition in the state and by his presidential aspirations, has made a show of liberalism. During his two years in office—and particularly this election year—he did some nibbling at liberal ideas. He seized upon a popular reform here and there. And he borrowed occasionally a good Socialist proposal, only to emasculate it, and leave it "hanging," unrelated to any program or plan of action.

Pathetically and persistently he cast about for "issues" but for the great problems confronting the people of our state he has never had nor offered any adequate solutions.

Though personally above reproach, politically, the governor, even more than his predecessor, made the highest office in the state an adjunct of that crooked and corrupt organization, Tammany Hall. Nor did he hesitate to give aid and comfort

to the worst elements of that organization, now controlled by Mr. Curry and his henchmen, even against his political friend and maker, Alfred E. Smith. The governor has made his appointments, including the judiciary, at the dictation of the Tammany-McCooey ring. And he vetoed all legislation in accordance with the wishes of that ring, including a law that would insure honest elections in New York City. He refused to order an investigation of the affairs of the city of New York, although the conscience of the community was shocked by revelations of wholesale corruption and graft, rivalling those of the days of Tweed and Croker.

At this writing I do not yet know the name of the candidate for governor of the Republican Party. But in this campaign I will not concern myself much with personalities, important though they are. I shall deal with issues.

We propose a reconstruction program for New York State on the basis of a well-considered plan. Ours are not the proposals of sentimentalists, yearning for an impossible Utopia, nor are they the outcries of a futile and blind revolt against social wrongs. They are measures based on stern realities, supported by experience and knowledge, to secure through democratic means an improvement in the lot and happiness of the plain people.

We do not suggest that our program be adopted over night. It will take a good many years of painstaking application. The government must, however, cease drifting and abandon its hit and miss procedure, trusting that problems will solve themselves. It must adopt a program of action, so that all its efforts will be directed to conscious ends.

Meeting the Unemployment Issue

One of the primary functions of government is to guarantee to its citizens and inhabitants security against want. We have had for the past nine

months a crisis of severe unemployment amidst plenty. The unemployed were callously left to shift for themselves in this, the wealthiest state of our country.

Socialists do not regard unemployment as merely accidental. We do not expect to solve the problem by temporary measures. We hold that while unemployment may be less serious at some time and more serious at another, it is a permanent aspect of our industrial system, always a problem to millions of people, who are either actually out of work and facing want, or are constantly haunted by the grim spectre of insecurity.

New York State is 20 years behind Great Britain, 30 years behind Germany, and decades behind other industrial countries in making provision for the unemployed. The government must supply either work to those able and willing to take it, or must compel by law industry and the community to provide for the jobless workers and their families.

In Germany there are 16,738,000 workers covered by unemployment insurance; in Great Britain and Ireland, 12,100,000 are protected; in all of continental Europe a total of 47,500,000 wage earners are entitled to insurance benefits during unemployment.

We must not only plan for the totally unemployed, but also for those who are under-employed—all those who for one reason or another find themselves out of work part of the time. The under-employed constitute the industrial reserve army, which the employers utilize to reduce the bargaining power of the worker and to make those employed amenable to their conditions. This industrial reserve army they also use during strikes and lockouts against the workers.

Governor Roosevelt, regardless of what he may say in this campaign, did nothing practical to give work or relief to the unemployed. While the legislature was still in session this year, as co-chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party I wrote him and urged that he send a special message to the law makers calling for a minimum program on unemployment, including unemployment insurance. I begged him in the interest of the unemployed that he recommend at least the appointment of an unemployment insurance commission, to study the question and prepare an adequate bill for the 1931 legislature. That was in March. He did nothing.

Apparently at that time the governor either did not believe in unemployment insurance or he did not wish to act. But with increased agitation by Socialists and progressives, public opinion veered in the direction of unemployment insurance. Then, with the legislative session ended, and thousands of miles away from home, the governor appeared in his liberal guise before the Conference of Governors at Salt Lake City, and advocated unemployment insurance. When was he converted to that idea? If he believed it in March, why did he not act then? If he was converted to it in summer and really believed it, why did he not call a special session of the legislature to act? He knows that a bitter winter is ahead of tens of thousands of unemployed in this state. What are they to do?

On August 26th I wrote Governor Roosevelt urging him to call a special session of the legislature to enact an emergency unemployment program to give work or relief to the half million jobless of our state. Here again he failed to act.

If given power, the Socialist Party will enact a comprehensive system of unemployment insurance. The losses due to unemployment must be borne primarily by industry, with contributions from the state and federal governments, and by those workers earning above a certain minimum. Unemployment benefits must be adequate to meet the needs of the jobless worker and his family.

Shorten the Hours of Toil

It is a criminal waste of our human resources to have some employees work 10 and even 12 hours a day, as they do in many of our industries, while hundreds of thousands of workers are idle. To spread the available work over the widest area of the working population of our state, we propose legislation limiting the hours of labor to six a day and establishing the five-day week.

Altogether too much lip-service has been given by Republican and Democratic office-holders to the idea of launching public works for the unemployed. The governor's party, in complete control of New York City, with hundreds of millions of dollars available for approved public works, such as rapid transit and the Forsythe housing project, deliberately failed to take action.

New York State has for twenty years neglected the conservation and exploitation of its waterpower resources. The development of the St. Lawrence and Niagara would involve an expenditure of $2,000,000,000. The slums of New York State, which are a standing disgrace, should be promptly cleared and homes built for the housing of the people, with rentals at cost. Such a program of waterpower development and home building would give work to tens of thousands for years. These public works would not be a burden on the taxpayers either because they would be self-sustaining.

With the increased productivity of modern industry there is no need for our children to begin working before 16. We therefore demand that all those under 16 be rigidly excluded from industry, thus preventing them from being used to drag down the standards of their parents and other adult workers, or taking their places.

Old-Age Pensions—Not Charity

In line with our principle that it is the function of government to guarantee to its citizens and inhabitants security against want, the Socialist Party pledges itself, if given power, to enact an adequate old-age pension law. The Mastick so-called old-age security law is a betrayal of the aged. It is not a pension law. It is an annex to the poor law.

After my attack upon that humiliating bill in the name of the Socialist Party, Governor Roosevelt fell in line and made some criticism of it. But whatever his statements may have been—and will be in this campaign—he never took up the fight for a real old-age pension law. Whether from lack of knowledge or conviction, or for political reasons, he did not lock horns with those who proposed and gave us a makeshift. He took no steps to arouse the people for a measure giving justice to the aged veterans of factory, office, and farm.

An adequate old-age pension law should not be based on pauperism. State charity is as reprehensible to our people as private charity. A fixed allowance should be given the aged workers at sixty as a matter of right. As in unemployment insurance, the burden should fall on industry, with contributions from the state and national governments, and from such workers as have above an established minimum income.

Profiteering by Utilities

Not only have our people as producers been deserted by the Republican and Democratic parties and left to the mercy of the owners of industry and commerce, but also as consumers have they been abandoned to the greed of the public utility magnates.

The small consumers of electricity in New York State have been paying 8.03 cents per kilow. hour, compared with an average for the country for the same type of consumer of 6.08 cents, or 20 per cent more than those outside of the state. They pay three times the rate charged to consumers in Ontario, Canada, under public ownership and op-

eration of the electric utilities. The minority members of the Commission on Revision of the Public Service Commission Law, consisting of Frank P. Walsh, Professor James C. Bonbright and David C. Adie, concluded that "the evidence shows that the establishment of electric rates on an economically sound basis in New York City would furnish household current for a maximum rate of five cents a kilowatt hour." Yet the maximum rate for electricity in New York City has been seven cents a kilowatt hour for the past 13 years.

While these electric rates have remained unchanged in the metropolis, the Consolidated Gas System, now in control of all companies selling electricity, increased its gross profits from $10,222,603 in 1915, to $54,350,149 in 1927, a gain of more than 425 per cent. Including the Brooklyn Edison Company, the profits in 1928 were $73,127,062. The profits available for stockholders jumped from $8,502,858 in 1915, to $42,273,779 in 1927, a gain of about 400 per cent. Including the Brooklyn Edison Company, the profits for stockholders were $59,592,552.

Notwithstanding these unconscionable profits, Matthew S. Sloan, for the New York Edison and associated companies supplying electricity to the metropolis, under the guise of a reduction demanded an increase in rates from 57 per cent of the domestic users. The consumers cannot expect any consideration from these public utility profiteers.

Nor do the electric utilities stand alone in their exactions. The New York Telephone Company has just managed to extract tens of millions of dollars annually in increased telephone bills. The transit companies of New York City have taken in profits from the straphangers close to $20,000,000 a year, while giving them indecent and intolerable service.

Throughout the state the various utility companies, using their monopolistic position and power, charge what the traffic will bear. They dominate the local political administrations of both old parties and the state government. They have made a farce of regulation.

Regulation a Failure

On the basis of its intensive investigation the minority of the Commission on Revision of the Public Service Commissions Law declared "that effective public utility regulation in the State of New York has broken down and that the consumers of the state have been abandoned to the exploitation of the public utility companies without any effective restraint by the Public Service Commission. We find that the utilities, themselves, are chiefly responsible for this failure of regulation, and that they have spent millions of dollars to thus free themselves from any limitation of their policy to charge what the traffic will bear, or, as they, themselves, put it, 'what business judgment dictates.' "

With regulation a proven failure, what have the Democratic and Republican parties to offer? What has Governor Roosevelt and the gubernatorial candidate of the Republican party to advance? Casting about for an answer, Governor Roosevelt forced Republican Chairman Prendergast from the Public Service Commission but he retained utility-minded Democratic Commissioner Van Namee, who was his campaign collector in 1928.

The Socialist Party maintains that the electric business, the telephone business, the transit business, and all other utilities are public economic functions. Their ownership and administration ought not be left to private owners whose only concern is to extract the maximum of profit. We demand that the public utility business of our state become the property of the whole people, to be administered through appropriate public agencies, to the end of supplying these necessary services with a maximum of efficiency and at a minimum of cost.

Electrification of Farm Areas

Public ownership and operation of the electric business mean more than cheaper rates however. In New York State there are over 3,000,000 horse power of electricity going to waste annually at Niagara Falls, St. Lawrence River and intra-state water sites. No investigation by the Governor's Commission, under a bi-partisan measure, of the St. Lawrence project will suppress the issue of the conservation and development of the people's waterpower resources in this state. Why has the governor limited himself to St. Lawrence alone, when Niagara Falls can produce almost an equal amount of energy at less expense? And why has the governor consented to the diversion of a large portion of the water at Niagara to the power trust which he pretends to oppose? Why did the governor delay his appointment of the St. Lawrence Commission until the month of August, and thus deprive the voters of the state the opportunity to pass in a mature and thoughtful manner upon the report to be made?

The Socialist Party stands for the immediate conservation and development of the water power resources of our state under a public corporate agency, and the sale of the electricity generated through public operation to the consumers at cost.

Large sections of our rural and agricultural areas have not yet received the blessings of the electric age. Our farmers and their families are still burdened with unnecessary toil because the private utility companies will not transmit electricity to them except at prohibitive cost. Are not the people on the farms and those in the villages also entitled to the benefits of our technical advance? Can the state carry on with indifference in the face of the steady drift from the rural to the urban areas?

The Socialist Party proposes a system of public electrification of the agricultural sections of the

state under a long-time payment plan, to bring cheap electricity to the farm and village.

Our Prison and Crime Program

Indifferent as the Republican and Democratic administrations are to the welfare of the producers and consumers, the free citizens of the state, they are blindly vengeful and cruel to criminals and delinquents. It required the tragedies of three prison riots, with needless loss of life, to stir Governor Roosevelt to take steps to relieve intolerable congestion in our state prisons. Although the normal capacity of the prison at Auburn is 1,225, the prisoners housed there last fall numbered about 1,750. One out of every three inmates had no quarters. The Clinton prison at Dannemora had an overflow population of over 400 at the time of its outbreak. Had the governor understood the problem of administration of public institutions he and his Commissioner of Correction would not have permitted this overcrowding with its inevitable results.

Governor Roosevelt has made no real effort to secure repeal of the cruel provisions of the Baumes Law, requiring mandatory life sentences for fourth offenders, and removing all hope from prisoners.

The entire administration of our criminal law and prison system must be reorganized upon sound scientific principles of modern penology. Such reorganization must be along these lines:

(1) The aim must be to rehabilitate the prisoner, not to punish him.

(2) The prison official must be equipped to do this work of human rehabilitation.

(3) The administration of our criminal law and penal institutions must be divorced from politics.

(4) Prison buildings must be adapted for humane and scientific treatment of delinquents.

(5) Prison discipline must encourage self-control and strengthen the character of the inmate, instead of destroying his will and turning him out a "model prisoner."

(6) Prisoners must not be kept idle. Those competent should be put to work at decent and productive occupations and paid the prevailing union rate of wages under an honestly administered state-use system. Any surplus over the cost of their maintenance should be given their dependents or kept for them until their discharge.

(7) Prisoners should be sentenced to indefinite terms and confined until cured.

(8) The cruel provisions of the Baumes Law must be repealed.

(9) Capital punishment must be abolished as an anachronism in an enlightened age.

One Final Word

There are other important issues in our reconstruction program for New York State. Space, however, forbids detailed analysis and specific proposals. There is need for abolishing the long-standing evil of government by injunction. There is need for lifting the burden of unjust taxation from the plain people. There is need for keeping our schools free from militarism. There is need for the preservation of our rapidly vanishing American civil liberties.

One final word. Every vote cast for the Socialist Party candidates, whether they are elected or not, will give increased power and authority to them to press this reconstruction program upon whomever is sent to Albany.

A vote for the Socialist Party is a vote for the use of the agencies of government in the interest of the plain people of our state.

Vote the Straight Socialist Ticket

WORK OR RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

Unemployment is a product of capitalism, with its private-profit ownership and unregulated and irresponsible direction of the industries. It can be totally eliminated only by a system of planned production and distribution for social use. Even now, however, immediate steps can and should be taken to relieve the tragic situation of the unemployed.

We demand:

1. The immediate launching of public works on an extensive scale by the state, city and county governments, and the prompt introduction of long-range planning of all future public works.

2. The extension of state and city public employment offices, in connection with a federal system, under strict civil service, and adequately financed.

3. The shortening of the workday to a maximum of 6 hours a day and the 5-day week; the ratification of the federal child labor amendment; absolute prohibition of child labor up to 16; compensation upon discharge by public and private employers, dependent upon length of service; and an old-age pension at 60.

4. State insurance against unemployment.

The belief that the American workers were or are receiving high wages is nothing more nor less than a myth. There is no general prosperity under the present economic system in the United States. For a short time and under favored circumstances there may be a fair standard of living for a *small part* of the working class. But for the overwhelming majority, in so-called good times as well as in bad, there is a never-ending bitter struggle to survive, with all the insecurities that go with the average worker's life. Let facts speak for themselves.

According to Professor Paul H. Douglas, who has taken great pains to show the increase in real

wages in the post-war period, the average earnings of those engaged in manufacturing, transportation, and coal mining for the years 1921-1926 inclusive, when unemployment is allowed for, were only $1,175 a year or $22.61 a week. What sort of prosperity is that?

According to Willford I. King, of the staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research, a scientific organization, the average wage earner in 1927, with an allowance made for unemployment, received $1,205, or $23.17 a week.

In the prosperous year of 1926, to quote from Professor Douglas himself, "the average actual earnings of the unskilled would probably have been approximately $1,000. This amount was of course grossly inadequate to meet the needs of family life, and indicates quite clearly that we have not abolished poverty." In other words, millions of unskilled workers received in the heyday of prosperity only $19 a week. And in bad years, such as 1921, 1924, 1927, and 1930, they received much less, because unemployment and part-time employment must be considered.

The Labor Bureau, Inc., an impartial fact-finding agency, has taken the United States Department of Labor standard budgets in various cities and brought them down to June, 1930, by its own pricing. It found that a minimum health and decency budget for New York was $2,114.55; for Brooklyn, $2,223.08; and for Schenectady, $2,023.57. What percentage of the workers of New York State earn $40 and over, *fifty-two weeks in the year?* According to the *Industrial Bulletin* of the New York State Department of Labor, the average weekly earnings in representative factories, including all employees in both office and shop, were in May, 1930, only $28.96. And this takes no account of unemployment. Merely to recite authoritative figures is to show the mythical character of the prosperity propaganda.

Meredith Givens and Leo Wolman, statisticians of the National Bureau of Economic Research—not of the Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce of the United States government—prepared the following table showing the average minimum volume of unemployment of non-agricultural labor in the United States from 1920 to 1927:

Unemployment in the United States, 1920-1927
(In thousands)

Year	*Total Number of Workers*	*Estimated Number Unemployed*	*Percentage Unemployed*
1920	27,558	1,401	5.1
1921	27,987	4,270	15.3
1922	28,505	3,441	12.1
1923	29,293	1,532	5.2
1924	30,234	2,315	7.7
1925	30,941	1,775	5.7
1926	31,808	1,669	5.2
1927	32,695	2,055	6.3

No Government Statistics

Unemployment is not a new or strange phenomenon. Unemployment has existed in the United States since the rise of the factory system. Why, then, are there no statistics available on the greatest social problem of the day? We know practically nothing of the actual extent of unemployment. We have estimates and guesses by public and private sources. We had extensive unemployment in 1921, 1924, 1927, and we now have millions out of work in 1930. Why did not the federal, the state, and the city goverments at least make some effort to find out the first elementary fact necessary for a proper approach to the problem, how many were out of work, all these years? Were the two old parties and the ruling classes afraid to learn and tell the truth? Were they afraid to face the facts and reveal their unwillingness and incapacity to relieve a situation brought about by "capitalism, with its

private-profit ownership and unregulated and irresponsible direction of the industries?"

Only after great pressure was put on Congress did it at the very last moment include the provision for a census of the unemployed in 1930. And the Hoover administration made a mockery of that census, from the formulation of the questions, the administration of the census-taking, to the announcement and belittling of the results. The people were led to expect a scientific, expert, and business-like treatment of a fundamental economic problem from the engineer in the White House.

Despite the specific recommendations and reports of the Hoover Committee on Unemployment, set up in 1921, President Hoover helped to paralyze federal, state and city action by suggesting further investigation—and further delay. The so-called man of action deliberately minimized the severity of the industrial crisis and depression which followed the stock market crash and thereby prevented remedial measures being taken for the unemployed. He flew in the face of all business and economic facts and predicted recoveries which never took place. He minimized the extent of unemployment by childish expedients, which any sixth-grade schoolboy could laugh out of court. His twice-a-day conferences appealed to private interests to increase plant capacity—a thing they and he knew could not and should not be undertaken in a depression. His appeal to states and cities to extend public construction followed a $160,000,000 tax reduction to the wealthy and an economy program for the federal government.

Let it at the same time, however, be emphatically stated that the Democratic Party, in control of states and cities, including the state of New York and the city of New York, did no more than call more conferences and set up more commissions, without the power or the money with which to do anything.

The governor of New York State fought his battles for the unemployed in Washington, D. C. and at Salt Lake City, Utah, after his own state legislature adjourned at home.

Despite all that the old parties said or pretended to do, the numbers out of work steadily grew month by month, and neither work nor relief was given to the unemployed millions. To the New York state legislature, when it meets again, Governor Roosevelt—if Tammany Hall succeeds in re-electing him—will make a report on unemployment, but he will do what Hoover did, suggest further investigation and further delay, hoping that the dangerous unemployment situation will have passed in the meanwhile.

No Need For Unemployment

The present aggravated unemployment situation in the United States is due to a world-wide depression. This country has one of the shortest business cycles—a rotation of crisis, depression, revival, prosperity and another crisis—in the world. Recessions here come oftener than anywhere else. The recession of 1921 was world-wide and severe. Those of 1924 and 1927 were milder. The present recession of 1930 approaches that of 1921.

We have in this country marvelous natural resources, a relatively small population per square mile, restricted immigration, political unity, the advantage of not having tariff walls between our states, great mechanical skill, and a pioneering go-getting spirit. These are all factors which ought to make for a very high standard of living for *all* of the people in any sane society.

In the last ten years the United States also had a building boom, an extraordinary production of automobiles, increased purchasing power by instalment selling, the financing of foreign countries, a large foreign trade, and little competition from the rest of the world. The

employers at the same time used mass production and scientific management, speeded up labor and crippled unionism, and enjoyed a profiteer's paradise. But foreign capitalists learned the ways of mass production and instalment selling. The building boom at home collapsed at the end of 1928, and automobile output reached its crest the following fall. The decline in our industrial activity became inevitable. The stock market crash merely brought a certain historical period of prosperity to a violent death and ushered in the ghost of hard times.

The present world-wide depression is due to a tremendous over-production in raw materials and manufactured goods. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of modern Socialism, explained the nature of modern crises in the *Communist Manifesto,* written eighty-two years ago, in 1848:

> Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange, and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. . . . It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. . . . The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

To change the figure of speech of Marx and Engels, our captains of government, industry and finance under the present profit system are not in control of their ships of state, factory or counting room. As a result there is anarchy of production, because each produces for a speculative market, without plan or knowledge of the demand. There is no cooperation. It is dog eat dog, big dog against little dog. In their greed and anxiety for profits the capitalists increase output, they increase plant capacity, they produce, produce, produce. And of course a crisis takes place, with "the epidemic of over-production."

In the United States today the problem of production is largely solved. In fact, capacity has outrun demand. We can produce all the wheat, clothing, shoes, houses, refrigerators, automobiles, all the necessities and luxuries necessary for a very high standard of living for all of the people of our blessed land. But the people's purchasing power is not sufficient to buy back the increasing volume of goods turned out by modern machine methods of production. What stands in the way? Wages are kept down by those who own and direct the industries. The owners must have their dividends, their interest, rent, and profits. They must have their surpluses to reinvest in industry. The Socialist says as any sane man would: "Abolish private ownership, with its unregulated and irresponsible direction of the industries. Introduce a system of planned production and distribution for social use. Abolish interest, rent, and profits. Then wages will be adequate, production will not outrun demand, and the periodical crisis and overproduction will become a thing of the past."

Immediate Unemployment Program

But the Socialists of the United States are not approaching power as in some of the European countries. Therefore, "immediate steps can and should be taken to relieve the tragic situation of

the unemployed" here and now in New York State.

The Republican president may have forgotten, but it is the purpose of the Socialist Party to remind him that Governor Ralph O. Brewster of Maine, speaking for the president himself, before the conference of governors on November 21, 1928, proposed building a reserve of billions of dollars by public and private groups, to be released in times of depression. A splendid time to have begun was on March 4, 1929, when he was inaugurated president. All through 1929, during the frenzy of the stock market boom, what did the president, Secretary Mellon, Secretary Lamont, or any other member of the cabinet do to cool the flames of speculation? What did they do to prepare for the inevitable collapse and calamity? Were there any reserves built up for public works? Were there any funds for putting people to work? There were not. Practical propositions have been made to the president to the effect that bonds be issued, or preferably that money be raised by taxation, to improve public roads. In the light of the seriousness of the situation and the millions out of work, the efforts of the president and also of Governor Roosevelt, so far as public works are concerned, have not counted for more than a drop in a bucket.

The Democratic governor of New York State may talk of Senator Wagner's bills providing for advance planning of public works by the federal government. But what did Governor Roosevelt do at home for the state of New York to provide for proper planning of future public works? If the president and the governor were as committed to the interests of the unemployed as they should be, they would have launched public works on a very extensive and adequate scale and would have whipped the municipalities into line as well. They would have also promptly introduced long-range planning of future public works, as the Socialist

platform demands. They would have in truth provided work for the unemployed instead of talk, prosperity by pronouncement, petty criticism of one department of labor by another, and publicity battles, with a single eye to elections in state and nation.

Free Public Employment Offices

The platform of the Socialist party demands "the extension of state and city public employment offices, in connection with a federal system, under strict civil service, and adequately financed." It is years since students of the unemployment problem have recognized the necessity for a nation-wide system of free public employment offices, to bring employer and worker together at the least cost and delay. What stands in the way? There is the private employment agency, with its influence on the old parties. Then there are the courts with their reactionary decisions, which prevent the abolition of the skinning employment profiteer, who is allowed to exploit the helpless seeker for work. Lastly and most important, there are the ruling classes, with their determination that unemployment should make labor meek and servile.

The Democratic party may blame Hoover and the Republican party for not adopting federal legislation to set up a system of free public employment offices. But why did not Senator Wagner and Governor Roosevelt force New York State and Tammany Hall in New York City to introduce the public employment agency system? Why did they wait so long before they established one free city employment office? Why did they wait until July, 1930, to set up an inadequate agency for the unemployed who must fight like beasts for the chance to offer themselves at any price to a master for bread? The two old parties, in control of nation, state, and city must be utterly condemned for their brutality to the unemployed.

Shorter Hours

The Socialist party demands of the government and the owners of our industries that when productive capacity increases, so that less labor is needed, the hours of work should be correspondingly shortened, so that all may work and consume. The Socialist party demands the shortening of the workday to a maximum of six hours a day and the introduction of the five-day week throughout industry. There was a time when the 10-hour day was considered visionary. There was a time when the 8-hour day was considered a dream. There was a time when the five-day week was treated as impossible. But they are all here. The Railroad Brotherhoods, the men who run our trains, have already come out for the six-hour day. And they are right. The railroad companies have laid off hundreds of thousands of men, and increased their efficiency and tonnage carried at the same time. The railroad owners have not laid off their dividends, however.

In the year 1930, in the United States if you please, of about 250,000 steel workers investigated, close to 70,000, or 26.9 per cent worked a 7-day week, and over 20,000 toiled from 11 to 12 hours a day. In all departments of the steel industry the average work-week in 1929 was 54.6 hours, a 9-hour day six days a week. In cotton goods manufacturing, in automobiles, in one industry after another, the nine and ten hour day still persists, with overtime as well.

Technological Unemployment

Between 1919 and 1928 the index of factory employment dropped from 100 to 90, but the production of manufactures rose from an annual index of 84 to 111. And the profits of the manufacturing corporations reached record heights in 1928 and 1929.

The displacement of labor by machinery has taken on unheard of proportions. Here are a few illustrations:

"Two men now do the work which formerly required 128 to perform in loading pig-iron; one man replaces 42 in operating open-hearth furnaces." This goes for the steel industry.

"In machine and railway repair shops one man replaces 25 skilled machinists with a gang of 5 to 10 semi-automatic machines. A brick-making machine in Chicago makes 40,000 bricks per hour. It formerly took one man 8 hours to make 450."

Thousands of telegraphers, musicians, telephone operators, printers, and all sorts of skilled tradesmen are being displaced by the new machines. In addition, the use of the conveyor or the belt, rearrangement of plant layouts, simplified routing of materials and the greater use of electric power have steadily reduced the need for labor. Hitherto there were some especially thriving industries, like automobiles and building. Workers were also being absorbed in distribution, professional, personal and domestic service. But where shall the displaced worker go when the new industries now face saturated markets at home and abroad, and when foreign capitalist nations are developing their own rival industries? A job is becoming scarcer and scarcer and it is especially a longer and harder task to find new kinds of work. Technological unemployment, the displacement of the worker by technological changes,—labor saving devices, scientific management, and efficiency—instead of becoming less, will, it is admitted by economists, grow to an increasing and dangerous extent in the years ahead in the United States.

As glaring and unnecessary as are long hours in American industry, the inhumanity and injustice of child labor is even a greater social crime. The federal child labor amendment should be approved by the various state legislatures. It has not been adopted by our own in New York State. The Democratic party, as well as the Republican party, is guilty. The children should be taken out of the

factory for their own sakes and to make room for older workers without jobs.

Again, if there were a proper old-age pension law in the Empire State, men and women when they reached sixty could, if they wished, retire and allow younger persons to take their places.

Furthermore, whenever a private or public employer discharges a wage or salaried worker they should be obligated by law to give compensation, dependent upon the length of service of the employee. In this way they would be deterred from firing indiscriminately and hastily. A dismissal wage would at the same time enable the unemployed to survive in the first months after discharge.

Unemployment Insurance

Finally, when everything has been done, through public works, public employment offices, increased wages, shorter hours, the abolition of child labor, old-age pensions and dismissal wages, it is as certain as anything can be that there will be a residue of the unemployed at all times, good and bad. For those lacking work and unable to find it, a system of state insurance against unemployment must be introduced. Benefits must be adequate and run for a sufficient period to enable the unemployed to live on a level close to that to which they are accustomed.

President Hoover has said nothing about unemployment insurance. Governor Roosevelt mentioned the subject thousands of miles away from Albany and after the legislature adjourned for a year. The Socialist party demanded unemployment insurance in its first platform of 1900. Socialist legislators and Socialist trade unionists have pushed the idea for a generation. The Socialist party is committed to unemployment insurance because (1) it adds so much purchasing power to the unemployed and keeps them and those fortunate enough to have work on a higher level; (2) it

does not pauperize but saves the unemployed from the humiliation of charity; (3) it makes the worker less fearful of losing a job; (4) it helps the union and those at work to maintain wages and conditions, because the unemployed man is less under the necessity of undercutting; (5) it preserves the family, keeps the youngsters at school and the mother in the home; (6) it provides necessary statistics concerning the evil of unemployment and throws a fierce white light on the necessity of its elimination; and (7) unemployment insurance gives the worker as a citizen a greater interest in the government and tends to stimulate working class political action. The workers in New York and in the United States will never get adequate unemployment insurance unless they vote and support their own party, the Socialist Party. They will never abolish the evil of unemployment until they give the Socialist Party the power to abolish its cause, capitalism.

DISTRIBUTING ELECTRICITY AT COST TO CONSUMERS

We favor the public ownership and democratic control of large scale industries and public utilities—such as transportation facilities, telephone and telegraph, gas and electric systems, and natural resources.

To the end of supplying to the people of our state abundant and cheap electrical energy, we demand:

1. The conservation and public development of all available water power resources of the state.

2. The recapture from the private companies of the state's water power resources.

3. The distribution of all electrical energy by public agencies at cost.

4. Appropriate legislation to empower districts and municipalities to generate and distribute electricity.

The Socialist Party fights for the making and selling of power at cost for two reasons: (1) The public can get cheaper service through government ownership and operation. It can save several hundreds of millions of dollars annually. With that money people can make their homes more pleasant places to live, can clothe their children better, in short do any of the things they plan to do if their wages are raised. A cut in power costs, in telephone, gas, freight rates or street car fares is the same as a wage or salary raise. (2) The power industry, under private ownership and control, is the Hindenburg line of special privilege. Its ten billion dollars of investment stretch across the country. Hardly a town is untouched by it. Wherever it touches the government of a city, town, state or even of the whole country, a pollution area develops. Hardly a man who opposes it can ever be nominated. If he is once nominated, the power industry, gather-

ing its allies-in-privilege, the street car and gas companies, can and does throw enough money against the man to defeat him. It is a wrecker of independence in politics. It is a bully of governments. It is one of the main forces on the American scene today which stagnate and pollute the attempts of the people to retain some small hold on their remaining natural resources, to promote the general welfare, and to keep the goverment clean.

The Power Trust

In New York State the people face two large companies, the Niagara-Hudson and the Consolidated Gas, which are expected to combine immediately after this election. The former controls the power of the state almost entirely from Niagara Falls to the Westchester County line. The Consolidated Gas controls New York City and Westchester County. When these combine they will be part of the Morgan control, which will then extend over about one-third of the whole industry to the country.

The excuse for such monopolies, given by Republicans and Democrats who have done nothing to protect the public interest while such huge aggregations of privileged capital were massing against it, is that monopolies can give service at lower cost than competitive companies, or than smaller companies. The answer to this is that private monopolies give only what forced and bitter fighting makes them yield. That is very little. The American Telephone and Telegraph has a practical monopoly throughout the country. In 1930 it attempted to raise phone rates throughout the state, over $48 a year in New York City for each residence user. A merger, approved by Democrats and Republicans, of all the electric power companies in New York City, under the Consolidated Gas, promised in 1928 to lower rates. Two years later, in 1930 it attempts to raise rates to every six out of ten of its consumers. These

facts are the answer to the loose Republican and Democratic apologies for their bi-partisan policy of allowing the utilities to combine against the public. The bigger they are the harder they are to fight. The bigger they are the less the old parties fight them.

The political control by the power companies is so pervasive that when a commission was appointed to investigate them, the members of that commission refused, time and again, to make public their utility connections, the stocks they owned, the business alliances they had with law-partners and others employed directly by the power companies. The majority report of that commission was a complete white-wash of a filthy situation. In New York City the utility controllers are Democratis and work with Tammany. Up-state they are Republicans and work with the Republican machines. In 13 years, from 1917 to 1930 the Consolidated Gas system paid a Tammany politician the sum of $1,300,000 to secure tax reductions for it from the city tax department, of which he was formerly a member. The criminal investigation of this disclosure was dropped by both old parties. The positions on the Public Service Commission, which is supposed to be the public's defender against the utilities, have, with few exceptions, been filled with politicians. The chairman of the Commission, from 1921-1930 William Prendergast, had two sons working for the utilities he was supposed to regulate, and saw no harm in that. He was appointed by former Governor Smith. He resigned to take a position with a banking company financing certain utilities in the state. The Republicans from up-state have been a unit in defeating every attempt to make regulation of the utilities protect the consumers. Their record is one of a hundred per cent obedience to the power industry.

Regulation Has Failed

Governor Roosevelt is under the impression that the public can be protected against the utilities by improving regulation. Regulation of public utilities has been in effect in New York State for 22 years. Has it protected anyone beside the utilities? The answer lies in the report made by the minority of the Commission on Revision of the Public Service Commissions Law in 1930. It says: (1) "The evidence is conclusive that the objects of public service regulation have not been attained." This is what 22 years of regulation have resulted in—utter failure. (2) "The evidence shows that the public utility companies have been chiefly responsible for the breakdown of regulation." (3) "Consolidated Gas Company with its affiliated electric companies is an outstanding example of over-valuation in New York State. Its capacity to serve the public is probably over-valued to the extent of about $150,000,000." Such overvaluation, it explains, is the modern form of overcapitalization. This applies also to the up-state utilities. (4) "The electric rate situation through New Yok State affords concrete evidence of the extent to which this condition has meant the practical abandonment of the consumer. . . .The average (rate) for domestic consumers throughout the state is considerably above the average for the rest of the country." In other words, the most expensive Public Service Commission in the country, appointed by the most liberal governor the Democrats put into office, has yielded to the utilities far more than other states have done. (5) "New York City consumers have been especially the victims of lack of regulation in the matter of electric rates. Manhattan homes could get their electricity for a maximum of 5 cents a kilowatt hour. . . . Instead they have paid a 7 cent rate for 13 years without reduction and the Public Service Commission has initiated no move to secure them lower charges." (6) The New York City power companies manipulated the Democratic-

Republican Commission into allowing to pass without protest an underhanded excess charge of $20,000,000 during the years from 1921 to 1928. The minority report says: "The coal surcharge fraud was another instance in which regulation proved utterly ineffective in protecting the consumer of electricity in New York City."

Its findings about the effectiveness of the Republican-Democratic Public Service Commission are: "The Public Service Commission, as the evidence shows, has felt willing or obliged to sanction rates which cannot possibly be justified on any economically sound basis of control. . . . It has in effect surrendered to the utility companies the right to charge whatever rates the conditions of their business and the monopoly character of their enterprise will support".

Governor Roosevelt's Policy

The idea, advocated by Governor Roosevelt, that this commission can protect the public is shattered by the minority report, which points out: "Three great holding companies, which dominate the state . . . have played an important part in the breakdown of effective regulation, introducing problems of overcapitalization and intercompany transactions over which it appears that the law gives the state no effective control. . . . The legal myth that they are not public utilities makes it possible to load the operating expenses of the operating companies, and consequently the rates charged by those companies, with payments to affiliated companies, the reasonableness of which is beyond the power of the commission to determine." In other words, the state regulatory body has allowed a situation to develop where it can no longer protect the public, even if it had ever wanted to, which is contrary to the record. The three large holding companies will soon become two, then one, and more powerful in the political control of the state with each combination. The invitation to improve regulation is the invitation to nibble away at the Hindenburg line, a mouth-

ful of dirt at a time. At the end of another 22 years we will be again where we are now. The Roosevelt policy is one of nibbling toward defeat, and taking plenty of time to do it. It is a policy of capturing mole hills and calling them mountains. It is a policy of planting shrubbery around an open sewer.

Socialist Program

The Socialist Party is the only party in this state fighting for throwing the utilities out of control of the state. It is against the policy of nibbling, of taking a thousand bites to a cherry. It is fighting for two things: (1) Ownership and control of the electric power generating stations, not only at Niagara Falls and on the St. Lawrence, but also all the steam plants throughout the state. (2) Ownership and control of the distribution system.

The fight for distribution of power under public control and ownership is a fight the Democrats have never been willing to make. Yet it is the most important part of the fight. Power costs three-quarters of a cent to produce. It sells for ten times as much to the residence consumer, 7.5 cents. Most of the expense comes in distribution. For every 75 cents the consumer pays for the cost and profit on producing power, he pays $6.75 for the cost and profit on distributing it. Distribution is even more important than generation.

The Socialist Party has forced the Democratic Party to declare for government ownership and development of St. Lawrence power. Recently the Republicans assented to a commission to propose details for such a plan. Why did the utility men in control of the state allow this? They allowed it because now they have complete control of the distribution of power in the state, and a government plant producing power on the St. Lawrence would have to accept the terms of the private companies which could, at present, be the only ones to buy this power. They are not afraid of it. The Democratic plan simply means that the

state will furnish low-cost capital to supply the private companies with low-cost power, which they can sell at high prices. Or they can refuse to buy the power at all. They are in a position to mulct the state on its last remaining natural resource, the great power now running to waste on the St. Lawrence. The minority report states: "The grip of holding companies on strategic power sites on the St. Lawrence River affords the basis for burdening consumers of St. Lawrence energy in the future with excessive capital charges. The control of this great source of power should never be allowed to fall into private hands." When the private companies have control of all the distributing wires in the state, the real control of that power has already fallen into private hands. Who developes it is simply a matter of "heads I win, tails you lose."

It is against this system that the Socialist Party is fighting when it declares for "production and distribution of electric power at cost." The only way to secure the complete benefits of electric power is by owning and controlling the whole system in the manner done by the Province of Ontario, across our border. In Ontario the domestic consumers who use 40 kilowatt hours a month pay at the rate of 2.74 cents per k w h, all charges included. Those who use 80 kilowatt hours monthly pay 1.99 cents per k w h. Those who use 250 kilowatt hours per month, pay 1.30 cents. Compare these with your own rates. The Ontario rates are the result of a publicly owned super-power system, getting all the advantages of interconnection and engineering efficiency. The minority report states: "Municipal competition, whenever it has been attempted, reveals a measure of success in attaining what regulation has failed to provide for the consumer. It has produced lower rates both from municipal plants and from nearby private plants. The Cleveland municipal plant affords a dramatic picture of the ability of a small public plant to bring drastic reductions in

the rates charged by private companies. Successful municipal plants are operating in Los Angeles, Pasadena, Tacoma, Seattle, Springfield, Ill., Jamestown, N. Y., and Holyoke, to mention only the larger cities. Ontario furnishes the outstanding example of public operation on a large scale."

Municipal Operation Favored

All the recommendations looking forward to real control of the situation through municipal and state ownership were either defeated by the Republicans or side-tracked by the Democrats in the 1930 legislature. The minority of the Revision Commission stated: "In view of the facts brought out by this investigation showing that the most potent force tending toward effective public utility regulation is to be found in either potential or actual public competition, we recommend that all obstacles to public ownership and operation in the form of state legislation be removed and that legislation facilitating public operation by municipalities be enacted along the following lines:

"(1) Authorization of municipal ownership in this state, granting the municipalities the power to build their own system in competition with private systems without the necessity of securing a certificate of convenience and necessity from the Public Service Commission and to acquire private systems by agreement or condemnation providing the cost does not exceed the proposed cost of the municipal system." The grip of the power companies on the state has been so strong that this is one of the few states where the cities are not now free and empowered to build their own power plants. The report recommends further:

"(2) Authorization of municipalities to serve the surrounding territory without continual appeal to the legislature for that privilege.

"(3) Authorization of municipal plants to replace private plants at the end of the franchise period of the latter without obligation on

the part of municipalities to purchase the often antiquated private plants.

"(4) Authorization of municipalities to form power districts for the purpose of supplying electricity at cost to municipalities within the district. . . . The district would have power to own, acquire or construct any water power or hydro-electric plant within or without the district and to sell to the public, to any municipality, to the state or to any state institution heat, light and power service. It would have the power of eminent domain, would have the right to use the public highways and to grant permits to any utility within the district."

All these proposals were beaten or never introduced into the legislature. Governor Roosevelt has not fought for them. They are proposals which would really cut into the utility control of the state. They are on the right road to Socialism. The Governor has contented himself with calling the utilities names. It was the policy of his predecessor in office, who was forced by the Socialists to fight for the St. Lawrence, which is in the future, but who appointed to the Public Service Commission the Democrats and Republicans who brought it to the place the minority report described—a complete failure.

Socialists Alone in Fight

The fight for cheap power, the fight to free the state from the pollution area caused by the power companies is one in which the Socialists stand alone on one side, and all the utilities, gas, traction, telephone and power, stand with their allies in the Democratic and Republican parties on the other side. The Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Company is willing to sell out to New York City for $274,000,000, when only $140,000,000 has been invested in it. It has been able to persuade the Democratic Chairman of the Board of Transportation to give $228,000,000 for it, a cool $88,-

000,000 gift. The Consolidated Gas has, according to the minority report, established claims for $150,000,000, for which no money was invested by anyone and is now receiving an income on it from the consumers of gas and power.

This over-valuation is the most barefaced fraud perpetrated on the American people since Schwab sold fake armor plate to the United States Navy. Who increases the value of the plants of these utilities? The people who come to live in the cities and who have children who grow up there, and become consumers of light and power, users of the subways, street car lines and telephones. These people contribute the extra value. It is not produced by the utilities. They have no right to it.

The question comes down to this: Is the public to get the advantage of the increases in values or is it to be taxed indefinitely and perpetually by the utilities for every child born, for every street paved, for every park established, for every school house paid for through taxes? The Socialists hold that the only way to stop this perpetual utility tax on improvements and children, to get cheap service, to rid the government of the present pollution area, is to put the utilities, both producing and distributing, under public ownership and control and keep them there.

ADEQUATE AID TO FARMERS

The Socialist Party demands:

1. The public electrification of the farm and rural areas.

2. A state policy of vigorous encouragement for farmers' cooperative organizations.

3. Establishment of adequate public marketing agencies.

4. Appropriate legislation enabling the purchase and distribution of milk and milk products by public agencies.

5. State insurance of crops.

6. Reforestation of marginal farm lands.

7. Improvement and extension of the rural school system.

8. State aid for the improvement of rural roads.

Agriculture, one of the great basic industries of the United States, is suffering today from very unfavorable conditions. Though the industry has been increasingly mechanized, and though the volume of production per farm worker has doubled within the past fifty years, the economic rewards per farm family are very small. The farm population is declining in all parts of the country, and numerous rural people, young and old, have been moving to the towns and the cities, only to add to the numbers of unemployed already there. There is genuine and general dissatisfaction throughout the rural areas because of poor economic opportunities.

The unemployment situation alone should serve to emphasize the close relation between rural and urban groups in the United States. The great migration from farm to city, consisting of at least 14 million people since 1920 alone, is certainly one of the big reasons for the industrial unemployment which is so prevalent and so burdensome today.

Yet this fact is generally overlooked by those who discuss what should be done about unemployment. Certainly the stabilization of American agriculture would be one of the greatest benefits to the urban working class.

Ties Between Workers and Farmers

Farmers and industrial workers are to a great extent dependent upon one another, though neither group as yet sufficiently appreciates the fact. It is too easy to say that farmers and urban workers will always be in conflict with one another because the one group is interested in keeping food dear and the other in having it cheap. It is of advantage to farmers, however, to have good purchasing power among the great mass of the industrial workers, 40 per cent of whose earnings are spent for food. The purchasing power of the urban workers assumes increasing importance when the uses of certain raw materials produced on farms are also considered. It is alleged that farm income can be greatly increased, if numerous "farm wastes" would be converted by chemical processes into useful goods. If the day comes when synthetic chemistry makes farm wastes useful, and transforms these raw materials into goods, the market for them will be found largely in the cities. In a similar fashion, the farm family is a consumer of the products of the city workers. The interdependence between the two groups is undoubtedly becoming greater as technical changes make our society more complicated. Certainly there are increasing contacts between farm families and those of urban workers. Possibly greater communication will result eventually in a realization of mutual dependence and in better understanding of mutual interests.

New York Farmers Hit by Depression

Farmers in the State of New York have been seriously affected during the post-war period by some of the unfavorable developments which are

ruining large sections of our rural life throughout the entire nation. In spite of the fact that agriculture has come through the first decade of the period after the war heavily burdened; in spite of the fact that agriculture shared not at all in the great gains of income made by a host of corporations during recent years—the two old parties have given it only half-hearted consideration. It should be only a short time before farmers realize that neither of the old parties has the wisdom or the willingness to do what is necessary for genuine farm relief.

Many things have indeed been done throughout the state ostensibly in the interest of agriculture during the last ten years. But they have not been at all directed toward that reorganization of society which alone can restore to farmers a more adequate income and a more powerful place in the economic scheme. Again, the great corporations, which have so much influence in determining the policies of the older parties, have certainly not been concerned with bringing about fair play for the agricultural workers and their families. Likewise, the tendency for the great urban financial interests to control the credit resources of the nation has not had results for the welfare of the farmers.

One needs only to consult the reports of the United States Census or of the federal and state agricultural agencies to get an idea of the seriousness of the rural situation in the State of New York, particularly in regard to the effects of the depression which began in 1920, and which has continued for farmers practically ever since. (As this is being written, the United States Department of Agriculture reports that the purchasing power of the farmers' products throughout the country has during the past few months been only 80 per cent of what it was for several years prior to the war.)

Farmers' Losses

The latest federal census figures on agriculture are for the calendar year 1924 and were gathered early in 1925. (There is an agricultural census every five years, but the figures for 1930 are not yet tabulated.) During the year 1924 "the value of crops with production reported" in New York was $172,140,512 The value of the same crops in 1919 was $345,119,170. The census states that "these two figures are fairly comparable." This is tangible evidence of the extent to which the depression hit agriculture.

The mortgage indebtedness of farmers in the state appears to be becoming heavier. In 1910 the mortgage indebtedness on farms operated by their owners (the only group for which these figures are gathered) was 34.2 per cent of the value of the farm properties; by 1920 the indebtedness was stated to be 37.5 per cent, and by 1925 the figure had increased to 41.6 per cent.

The average value of land per acre declined from $38.45 in 1920 to $33.57 in 1925—a fact which reflects the falling-off in the farmers' net return for their labor.

The number of farms in the state during recent periods has been as follows: In 1910—215,597; in 1920—193,195; in 1925—188,754.

The area of land in farms declined from 22,030,-367 acres in 1910 to 19,269,926 acres in 1925.

The relative population on farms has been declining since 1855. In 1855, exactly one person in three in the state was a resident on a farm. By 1920, only one in thirteen was a resident on a farm. By 1920, the number of persons on farms was about one-third less than in 1855, and it decreased still further between 1920 and 1925.

Causes of Slump

What ails agriculture? Two Cornell professors, G. F. Warren and F. A. Pearson, answering that

question in an article in *The Farm Journal*, point out among others the following factors:

"The phenomenal increase in the productive efficiency of the American farmer in the last generation has created conditions that never before existed in any country."

Deflation in 1920-1921 brought on a serious agricultural depression.

Increased indebtedness and increased taxes have been great burdens for farmers.

"More important than all other causes," say these economists, "is the increase in the spread between prices of products at the farm and at retail."

The Cornell periodical *Farm Economics*, in its issue for June 30, 1930, contains figures which indicate that the costs of distributing food products were twice as high in April of this year as they were in 1913-1914, and higher than at any time since that year. Here is sufficient evidence that our complicated, wasteful, and antiquated system of distribution works great hardships both upon farmers and upon the great mass of urban consumers of farm products.

Socialist Program

The same issue of *Farm Economics* tells of remarkable increases in the consumption of electricity on farms having a supply, between the years 1926 and 1929. One hundred farms which were studied more than doubled their consumption of electricity between these years. But only a small proportion of the farms as yet have electricity available. An abundant supply of power at low rates would do much to improve living and working conditions on the farms. The Socialist power program should thus make an especial appeal to the farm groups within the state. It calls for the public electrification of the farm and village areas. This is a need which should be met by all of the people acting through the state government.

The Socialist platform promises other policies and measures which will mean much to rural dwellers, once they are tried in an adequate way. It calls for vigorous encouragement of farmers' cooperative marketing organizations. It is now fashionable to give lip-service to farmers' co-operatives. Some of our state agencies now assist them, but only after long hesitation. The Socialist program goes farther and asks for a state policy of vigorous encouragement.

The costs involved by numerous middlemen are enormous. Both farmers and city consumers pay for them. Our marketing agencies are at present so wasteful and inadequate that the city and state governments must set up new marketing agencies that can serve farmers and city consumers fairly. The cities should establish retail markets, and the state should protect farmer and consumer much more adequately than is being done at present. The state policy should be to set up public marketing agencies wherever possible.

Public Distribution of Milk

Everyone consumes milk in some form. Cow's milk has been called the almost ideal human food. Under the present system there are many in the cities who cannot afford to buy all the milk they need, and most of the farmers are struggling to produce milk for poor returns. There is need for state legislation which will encourage cities to begin the purchase and distribution of milk through public agencies, thus promoting its consumption by reducing its retail price.

When the Socialist party calls for a system of state crop insurance it is only asking that we do what is already being done in some other countries of the world, but to which the older parties have given no encouragement in the United States.

Reforestation of marginal farm lands is a thoroughly sound economic proposal. More lumber will be needed within a generation. The state

should show its statesmanship by meeting a need of both urban and rural groups in a more thorough fashion than has been in evidence.

The Socialist Party calls for such improvements in the rural school system as to make rural schools as adequate as the urban. Now it is generally recognized that they are by no means as good as those in the cities. The elementary education of the farmers' children must be a concern of the state and all the people, both for their own sake and because so many of these children move to the cities after their grade school education is completed.

The nation has been generally unfair to farmers in its road building program. Though hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent for good roads, those that farmers use the most have not been much improved. Furthermore, farmers have been unjustly taxed to pay for roads which they use only slightly. This disgraceful condition should be changed by an adequate system of state aid for the improvement of the strictly rural roads.

Finally, the Socialist Party platform calls for a system of taxation that will be fair to farmers. It demands the abolition of the inequities of the property tax. It states that "increases in the state and local budget should come primarily out of increased, graduated income and inheritance taxes." By these means the present unjust distribution of the social income will in part be corrected.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS NOT POOR RELIEF

On April 10th, 1930, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the bill introduced by Senator Seabury C. Mastick, and passed by the legislature, officially known as "an act to amend the public welfare law, in relation to providing security against old-age want." The governor frankly admitted that "it is too much a mere extension of the poor law." And yet he signed the bill. It is the contention of the Socialist Party that the Mastick law is a betrayal of the aged of New York State. This law is not and was never intended to be an old-age pension law. It is nothing more nor less than an amendment to the poor law.

Conservative newspapers have correctly characterized the law. Said the New York *Sun*: "It

does not propose old-age pensions at all. . . It is a long way from a comprehensive and satisfactory solution of the problem of old-age pensions." And the New York *Times* added: "Hard upon the heels of the report submitted to the legislature by the commission on old-age security, which recommended the provisions of the Mastick law comes Socialist protest against this 'tragically inadequate' scheme of old-age pensions. The difficulty about this complaint is that the commission's plan is not an old-age pension system. . . Essentially, the commission's proposals constitute a modernized poor-relief scheme."

To leave no doubt in the minds of the aged themselves, Commissioner Charles H. Johnson of the State Department of Social Welfare expressed in very specific language the purpose of the law, in a statement given to the press on August 3rd, 1930: "In order to avoid misunderstanding and disappointment when the law goes into effect, it is important to realize that need is the first and essential qualification under the law. The relief grants are not 'pensions,' available for all persons 70 years of age and over, but are allowances to be given only to those who are in financial distress, have no children or other relatives able to provide for them, or who are ill or disabled in such a way that they cannot better be cared for in a suitable public home or hospital."

Shortcomings of Mastick Law

Some organizations and individuals see in the law an important first step. But an examination of the Mastick law and a comparison of it with the poor law shows that the aged gain but little by the former. The alleged benefits to the aged provided for by the statute are already largely incorporated in the poor law.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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Mastick law prescribes numerous limitations and qualifications—such as citizenship, 70 years of age or over, 10-year residence in the state, one-year residence in the county—the existing poor law gives an old person relief without any of its limitations. The Public Welfare Law, modernized in 1929, specifically declares: "It shall be the duty of public welfare officials, insofar as funds are available for that purpose, to provide adequately for those unable to maintain themselves." Age is not the test under the Mastick law. The old man or woman must be incapable of maintaining himself or herself. Poverty is the test. Poverty, likewise, is the test under the poor law. The Mastick law has merely made available funds to make the poor law effective.

It should be noted further that an aged person, although entirely unable to support himself, but who has children or other persons able and responsible for his support is not entitled to any benefits. In other words, the same limitations imposed upon a person unable to maintain himself under the poor law are also imposed upon the aged applicant under the Mastick law.

It is claimed that the so-called old-age pension law has established an important principle, that of out-door relief, namely, that an aged person may be maintained in his own home. The poor law long ago said: "Wherever practicable, relief and service shall be given to a poor person in his own home." The Mastick law reads: "The relief granted under this article shall whenever practicable be provided for the recipient in his own or some other suitable family home." What is the difference?

Again, the new law states that "the amount and nature and method of providing such relief shall be determined by the public welfare official." The local public welfare officials are concerned with keeping taxation down. They will naturally try to curtail payments of all sort. They will

refuse claims whenever they can. And they will be under the temptation to use the law for political purposes. The manner in which the relief is spent and the mode of life of the unfortunate old man or woman is also to be under the constant surveillance of the local public welfare official.

These then are the facts as to the Mastick-poor relief law and the reasons why it constitutes a betrayal of the aged.

What Is Meant By Pensions

The Socialist Party proposes a genuine old-age pension law for workers. The principle of pensions differs fundamentally from that of poor relief. There are thousands of wage earners very inadequately covered by company-controlled pension plans in industry, generally to the detriment of labor. About 85 per cent of the public service employees of the state are also covered by pensions. These wage and salaried workers do not receive their pensions because they are in need. They receive them when they reach a certain age and have fulfilled certain conditions, *and solely as a matter of right, not as a matter of charity.* They receive them regardless of property owned or whether they have children who can support them. In other words, they become entitled to pensions upon which they can live. The Socialist Party proposes a system of old-age pensions for all the workers of hand and brain. In other words, when they reach the age of sixty they will be entitled to and receive pensions.

It has been estimated by the New York Commission on Old-Age Security that about 51,000 persons, 70 years and over, are likely to be in need and eligible under the Mastick law. But the Commission defined need as "property under $3,000, income under $400, no children to support," and it defined eligibility as "citizenship, and ten years' residence in the state." The num-

ber to be given old-age assistance thus depends entirely on definitions of need and eligibility.

The Socialist Party demands that the 70-year limitation be reduced to 60, under an old-age pension plan, in justice to the veterans of modern, speeded-up industry, and to help relieve the unemployment situation. The American Federation of Labor is on record for pensions to commence at 65, with a pension of at least $300 annually. The Mastick law limits poor relief to those 70 and over and does not offer even a dollar a day. Most of the pension plans abroad, as well as those at home, call for retirement at sixty-five.

Pension Systems Abroad

Foreign old-age pension plans definitely provide pensions, not poor relief, to the workers. The compulsory social insurance law of France, adopted in 1928, fixes the eligible age at 60; calls for 30 years' contributions, with a voluntary retirement age at 55, after 25 years' contributions. The compulsory insurance law of Great Britain, passed in 1925, fixes the age at 65; 104 weeks' contributions; insured at least five years; residence in Great Britain for two years and employment in Great Britain. Czechoslovakia provides, in the law of 1924, a pension for all workers aged 65 and over after payment of 150 weeks' contributions. The worker, the employer, and the government all contribute. Here are three industrial nations of Europe with old-age pension plans based on the contributory system. There is no taint of charity or poor relief in them.

The Mastick law limits old-age assistance to citizens only. This limitation hits single women and the foreign born in our cities severely and unfairly. True, citizens are entitled to justice from their government, but workers who have given a lifetime of service to industry are also entitled to consideration, regardless of whether they are citizens or not.

Finally, the Socialist Party advocates the establishment of a comprehensive system of social insurance, with adequate benefits, to include provision against the economic losses resulting from unemployment, sickness, accident, old age, maternity and death, and to be administered by a non-partisan commission with adequate labor representation. The system of old-age pensions, if it is to meet the problem scientifically and adequately, must be tied up with a comprehensive system of social insurance, preferably on a national scale. Then, and only then, will the worker feel a greater sense of security and independence. And for a basic program of social insurance the Socialist Party stands alone in this state and national campaign.

ATTACKING GRAFT AT ITS SOURCE

The vaudeville actor goes up behind his partner and taps him on the shoulder.

"You're a crook," says he, "you're wanted in Washington."

"What do they want another crook in Washington for?" is the response that invariably elicits cynical chuckles from the audience.

And when you think it over, this is the tragedy of the thing—the cynical attitude of the man on the street towards political corruption.

Indeed corruption has come to be so accepted a by-product of the political machines of both old parties that an honest man in public life is as rare as a February thunderstorm.

"By-product" is not the word. The blunt fact is that corruption is the end-product of the political machine. When Oscar Ameringer said, "The fine art of politics consists of extracting campaign contributions from the rich and votes from the poor on the ground that you are going to protect one from the other," he made a keen summation of the causes for corruption in public life. One need not be a Marxist with rigid insistence upon economic determinism to realize that it is what the frank-spoken Wobblies used to call, "the belly urge" which is the dominating motive of the parasitic horde of placemen and favor-seekers and dealers who have steadily dragged politics in America into its present disrepute.

It is a caustic commentary on the low estate of public service that newspapers the country over should express surprise that men of the high

standing of Louis Waldman, Norman Thomas, Jacob Panken and Heywood Broun should even consider running for office. When Roy Howard, editor of the Scripps-Howard papers said in connection with Broun's nomination for Congress, "It has been our boast that in more than half a century of our existence few Scripps-Howard editors have gone to jail and no Scripps-Howard editor or important contributor has gone to Congress," he was but echoing the almost universal contempt for politicians which is held by most intelligent citizens.

"Good Government" No Remedy

Now, unlike well-meaning liberals who naively assume that corruption in politics can be ended by the "good man" technique, (which in the long run consists of substituting one group of rascals for another,) Socialists waste little time in lamentations over political corruption. For their concern is not merely with "good government" by which is usually meant fair-to-middling honest administration of public funds, but with a political, social and economic reconstruction which shall bring with it a new conception of the function of the state, a new point of view on the part of the individual citizen towards his or her relations to the state. In short, a revolution in the public mind and conscience far more significant and far-reaching than any fantastic matter of barricades and street fighting.

With such a philosophy Socialists conduct their warfare against corruption not as a one-time sniping of certain individual sinners, not as an overnight social-evangelical revival, but as part of a far-flung and continuous onslaught upon a system which has its very roots and draws its sinister strength from bribery, fraud and the debauching of public office.

If at the present time it is corruption in New York City and under the shadow of the new

Tammany Hall which attracts nation-wide attention, it is not to be assumed that New York under Walker is in any degree freer of corruption than a number of up state cities where Republicans are in complete control. Gamblers at Saratoga cheek by jowl with Republican and Democratic politicians alike, jury-bribers in Schenectady, riggers and "fixers" in Rochester, Syracuse, Albany and Buffalo—one and all are repeating in miniature the large-scale skullduggery of their metropolitan co-grafters.

New York Typical

It so happens that New York City lies constantly under the fierce light of world publicity and that what goes on in its colorful life has its repercussions in every corner of the earth. So if in this campaign we deal chiefly with political corruption in New York City it is not because we regard it as in any way an isolated phenomenon. Nor are the present instances of individual dishonesty unique in the history of the city or the state. As Louis Waldman so well put it in an interview with the press last June:

"Our campaign to awaken the civic conscience and to arouse the people to the fact that we are back in the days of Boss Tweed would not be necessary if Judge Mancuso, Magistrate Vitale, Judge Vause and Dr. Doyle were merely isolated instances of corruption in public office and that justice would be done either by having them resign or imprisoned for any of the offences of which they may be guilty. . . . We are not fighting Vause but Vausism, not Doyle but the system of which Doyle is a product and of which he may or may not eventually become a victim. They represent symptoms of a virulent disease which is destroying the very vitals of our government and, what is worse, the civic conscience of our people who have come to regard a long series of scandals with complacency. Resentment is now beginning to show itself and it will be a calamity if Vause's

resignation, or the resignation of any of the others under suspicion should permit the same conclusion to these scandals as has occurred in the others."

Socialists in this campaign have a double-edged sword with which to strike at corruption. They can and must lash out fiercely at the individual grafter but at the same time they must make it clear that he is but part of a larger system of fraud which stems directly from the capitalist system.

Socialist Party's Achievements

In the old days of the Socialist Party, when the propaganda of the idea itself was the sole business of our spokesmen, little or no attention was paid to current affairs. That phase has definitely passed. In New York City, in Philadelphia, in other large centers, the Socialist Party has become the recognized opposition to the powers that be. Research into municipal government, the collection of facts and figures have taken the place of vague denunciation. Socialist Party headquarters are today literally clearing-houses for information, up to the minute, authentic and fundamental to an understanding of those hidden forces which operate day in and day out to exploit those who create the wealth of the city by work of hand and brain.

The emergence of the Socialist Party into the dust and heat of everyday political combat has captured the imagination of men and women from all walks of life. Far more effective than any generalized appeal is such a record of practical achievement as has been set by the Socialists in New York City in this last crowded year.

That achievement is effectively summed up in a recent article in the national Socialist weekly, the *New Leader*:

"Without a single representative of the party in any executive, administrative or legislative po-

sition, the Socialist Party nevertheless takes the lead in shaping important public policy and in bringing about actual significant changes."

After enumerating the work done by the party for alleviation of unemployment by forcing the opening of a free employment agency in New York, the blocking of a bare faced electric rate increase attempted by the New York Edison Company, and the fight against food racketeering, the *New Leader* adds:

"Towards the end of his campaign for Mayor last year, Norman Thomas, Socialist, tore away the veil from around the magistrates' courts in New York. He described them truthfully as centers of corruption, agencies where justice is denied except for a price. He was the first to charge that magistrates pay for their jobs. Then came the removal of magistrates and judges—Vitale, Vause, Ewald. The list will grow longer." [This was written in August] "The Socialists were the first who demanded a full probe of the magistrates' courts. For months the request was denied by Governor Roosevelt. But the Socialists kept up their demand, Louis Waldman joining Thomas in arguing the public necessity and the legal possibility of a thorough probe by the state. At long last Governor Roosevelt has been forced to order an investigation."

Socialists Alone Can Fight Graft

Heywood Broun has said, "The old parties will steal the Socialists' thunder but they dare not touch our lightning." Proof of the guilty conscience of the Republicans who know that they cannot come into court with clean hands is their obvious unwillingness to tackle this matter of Tammany corruption with anything approaching genuine zeal. It remains for the Socialists and the Socialists alone to carry on the fight for common decency not only in New York City but throughout the state.

For it is the plain and sobering truth that corruption has become so commonplace in the functioning of both old party machines that its poison has seeped down to the humblest rank and filer. It is the order of the day. The accepted thing. From Washington where Hoover, who was so thunderously mute at the time of the oil scandals, still sits in smug silence, to Albany where the hesitant Roosevelt plays cautious politics with matters affecting the welfare of every citizen in the state, corruption has its triumphant way. Only the Socialists stand in its path, militantly on the alert to cut to the heart of the hidous cancer that is destroying all faith in justice, robbing the wayfaring man of any reliance that he once might have had in democracy and making our city and our state a hissing and an abomination among decent men and women the country over.

A Calendar of Corruption

Here, in brief outline, are some of the major governmental scandals which have demoralized the government of the City of New York. The Socialist Party was the first to urge Gov. Roosevelt to investigate these scandals, but he has refused to interfere, although on other occasions he has not hesitated to investigate alleged scandals in up-state cities not under the rule of his own party.

Queens Sewer Scandal: Borough President Maurice E. Connolly of Queens, his engineer, Frederick B. Seely, conspired with John M. Phillips to give him a monopoly on the sale of sewer pipe for new trunk sewers. Seely rigged the specifications so that no one could successfully bid unless they used Phillips' pipe. The latter charged anywhere from two to eight times the real value of his pipe. The takings of the sewer pipe ring have been estimated at $15,000,000. Phillips is said to have collected $3,000,000 in excess values for his pipe.

Street Cleaning Scandal: William J. Loughfeed, street cleaning department stable foreman,

confessed to extensive graft and payroll padding in the removal of snow in the winter of 1927-28.

County Clerk Scandal: During 1927 and 1928 three clerks in the County Clerk's office, New York County, appropriated $64,398 out of the pockets of citizens. They simply took the fees which legally belonged to the office and the city.

City Trust Scandal: The City Trust scandal reached up to Albany, affecting the state banking department. Frank H. Warder, in February, 1929, closed the City Trust Company, declaring it had failed. Warder was then proven to have been in corrupt relations with Francis M. Ferrari, owner of the bank. Francis X. Mancuso, then General Sessions judge, was also involved. H. Warren Hubbard, now Tammany's Commissioner of Public Works, a branch bank manager, was also involved. Warder was eventually convicted of receiving almost $100,000 in bribes for allowing the City Trust Co. to run although it was insolvent.

The Vitale Scandal: Magistrate Albert H. Vitale was exposed as having placed himself under obligation to Arnold Rothstein, since murdered, and one of the most sinister underworld figures, by accepting a loan of $19,000. The appellate division, under public pressure, removed him from the bench.

The Magistrates Scandals: On charges begun by Norman Thomas, Socialist, the appointment of a special Grand Jury was brought about to probe the magistrates and the magistrates' courts. The grand jury made a scathing report on conditions in the courts, but nothing has been done to correct them. The Grand Jury found nothing wrong with the individual magistrates. After its report had been turned in, Magistrate Ewald was forced to quit the bench. The bar association, on request of Mr. Thomas, is investigating magistrate McQuade, while the appellate division is undertaking a general investigation.

Probation Bureau Scandal: On leads supplied by Norman Thomas, it was revealed that Edwin J. Cooley, probation officer in charge of General Sessions Court, was keeping a sister on the payroll while she actually taught school in Buffalo.

The Judge Vause Scandal: Judge W. Bernard Vause, personal friend of Mayor Walker, chairman of the Kings County Democratic Party, was revealed as having taken a "fee" of $250,000 for securing the lease of city piers for the United-American Lines. Vause was also under fire, indicted, and convicted for his part in the Columbia Finance Corporation, a pseudo-banking house, which failed last December for $400,000, taking with it the savings of small investors.

The Board of Standards Scandal: This board grants permits for the building of gasoline stations and garages. It was revealed that William F. Doyle, former horse doctor, had found it more remunerative to act as "fixer" for those who wanted permits from the Board of Standards and Appeals. It was developed that he had received some $2,000,000 in eight years as "fees" for work before the board.

The Ewald Scandal: Magistrate Ewald was accused of relations with a fake-stock selling company, the Cotter Butte Mines, Inc. Later it developed that Mrs. Ewald turned over at least $10,000 to Martin J. Healy, Deputy Commissioner of Plants and Structures and a Tammany district leader, for what is alleged to have been payment for his appointment to the bench. Attorney General Ward was appointed to investigate the case, after the Tammany district attorney's office carried on a whitewash investigation. At this writing, the case is still incomplete but has given rise to charges of a general system of the purchasing of and selling of judicial appointments by Tammany Hall.

SOCIETY'S CRIME AGAINST CRIMINALS

Tragic rebellions in the prisons of the state have revealed conditions as unbelievably inefficient and cruel.

As measures to cope with increasing crime in the state we demand a program of prison building and prison administration adapted to humane and scientific treatment of delinquents. We favor the repeal of the provisions of the Baumes Law requiring mandatory life sentences for fourth offenders. We demand the abolition of capital punishment.

Crime is in large measure rooted in our social and economic system. All efforts to cope with the problem through punitive and repressive measures necessarily fail. We favor attacking crime at its principal source by assuring decent living standards through higher wages and shorter hours; by adequate housing facilities within the workers' means; by better and higher free education; by social insurance to do away with the insecurity in the worker's life; and by adequate recreational facilities.

The recent mass rebellions in the prisons of our state unveiled a sickening scene. For a moment the gaze of the public was riveted upon it. There is danger, however, that the prisoner will be forgotten and left to rot in his dungeon. The facts as to the recent outbreaks and as to the conditions in our jails must be repeated again and again.

Three convicts were killed, six others were seriously wounded, and two guards were beaten, when about 1,300 of the 1,568 long-term prisoners in the Clinton State Prison, at Dannemora, New York, made a break for liberty on July 22, 1929. Property damage was $173,000.

Two prisoners were killed and four escaped, when for five hours the convicts of the State Prison at Auburn, New York, battled with guards, state troopers, and militiamen, on July

28, 1929. The damage to property was $450,000.

The principal keeper was killed, and six convicts were shot down one after another when they refused to surrender, after having held Warden Edgar S. Jennings as a hostage, in a mutiny at the prison at Auburn, New York, December 11, 1929.

Every thoughtful citizen ought to know the causes for these tragic rebellions. A special Grand Jury of Cayuga County investigated the riots in the Auburn prison. It declared that the management of the prison "was a record of neglect and incompetence." Next in importance as causes of the riots it listed overcrowding and the mental condition of the inmates. Why was the management "headless, spineless and worthless," to use the words of the Grand Jury? Was the overcrowding unknown, and if not, why was it allowed to continue? Was the mental condition of the inmates unknown, and why was it allowed to develop? These are questions the people want answered from responsible public officials.

Vile Prison Conditions

The riots at Auburn and Dannemora in New York State merely brought vividly to light an appalling situation that has continued for years. They illustrated in a striking way what careful students knew for decades, that the prisons of the United States were woefully behind the times. An authority, Dr. Hastings Hart, has recently pointed out: "When De Tocqueville studied the American prison system ninety years ago, he is reported to have said that the American jails were the worst prisons in the world, and that indictment stands today with reference to a very large proportion of the jails in this country."

The main cell block at Dannemora was built in 1845 and has no modern sanitary facilities; another block was built in 1875 and lacks decent equipment. Dr. Raymond F. C. Kieb, Commis-

sioner of Correction at the time of the riots, declared that the Auburn Prison and the Clinton Prison at Dannemora were "practically the same as before the Civil War;" they were "antiquated;" they were "firetraps;" they had "small cells, poorly ventilated and lighted, with no sanitary conveniences." The daily food allowance for each prisoner at Sing Sing was only 21 cents a day, the same amount paid by the state in 1868 and never increased since—dispite the decreased purchasing power of the dollar, said Warden Lewis E. Lawes. The fair-minded citizen must ask of Dr. Kieb, and his superiors in high office in this state, "Were not these facts known for years? And why was not the money forthcoming for new and more modern prison buildings?"

The normal capacity of the Dannemora prison was 1,160. But there were 1,568 long-term convicts housed in it at the time of the mutiny. The normal capacity of the Auburn prison was 1,225. But there were 1,756 long-term prisoners housed in it at the time of the first mutiny. With men sleeping in the corridors of these prisons, with an overcrowded population of desperate men idle and restless, what chance was there for ordinary disciplinary measures? Were the facts of overcrowding and idleness not known to the highest officials of the state? And why was nothing done about them?

The administration of our prisons is under the final supervision of the governor. Dr. Kieb, Commissioner of Correction is his appointee and subject to his removal. Why did not Governor Roosevelt act?

The Cayuga County Grand Jury said that no attempt was made to properly segregate inmates and they recommended three groupings for the future: (1) Those for whom there is hope and opportunity for regeneration. (2) Those for whom the door to hope has been closed, either because of sentence or for psychiatric reasons. (3)

Those who have shown by their conduct that they may be discharged after more intense training with probable safety to society. It also favored amendment to the Baumes Law, and called for a real indeterminate sentence law. But why did it need three tragic rebellions to evoke these common-sense proposals?

Eighteenth Century Attitude

The sober truth is that the treatment of crime and criminals in this country has been largely a ghastly failure. George W. Kirchwey, former warden of Sing Sing, and head of the department of criminology at the New York School of Social Work, said on June 13, 1930, at the Boston conference of social workers: "Our prisons have recently spoken for themselves in no uncertain terms. The inhumanity, the careless indifference to the most elementary human rights to which they bear witness need no emphasis from words of mine. . . . The pendulum of time has swung forward from the nineteenth century to the twentieth, but the pendulum of penal policy in America has swung backward from the nineteenth to the eighteenth."

Dr. Kirchwey noted one of the reasons for our failure to move on to the twentieth century: "It is not easy to say to what extent the principle of retribution, so deeply rooted in our human nature, is actually operative in our penal legislation and in judicial and prison practice today. I cannot help believing that it is still the dominant element in penal policy. Usually it operates below the level of consciousness, but it sometimes finds frank expression." Society continues to meet the challenge of crime mainly in the spirit of blind fury. And this despite the well-known fact that many of the criminals are "irresponsible psycopaths," either insane, mental defectives, or abnormal because they have failed to grow up emotionally; and that the rest of the criminals are the

inevitable product of the crimes of capitalism against them.

The imposition of heavy sentences on delinquents and sending them to medieval prisons has not prevented crime or cured criminals. The prisoners merely become more desperate in their pitiful acts of rebellion. The provisions of the Baumes Law imposing mandatory life sentences for fourth offenders are cruel and totally inadequate. Capital punishment does not prevent murder. Uncivilized and harsh sentences must go the way of the torture chamber.

The American Prison Association in 1919 laid it down as a fundamental principle that the mental and physical condition of delinquents be intensively studied for the proper classification of offenders. Each delinquent should be treated as a patient in a hospital. His character, antecedents, conduct and mode of life should be known before imposition of sentence, preferably by a commission of psychiatric and sociological experts, who would send him to an institution—not a prison, with its barbaric discipline—where he stood some chance of being reformed, if there was any hope for him whatever. The British have shown that many older prisoners and even repeaters may be reformed.

The probation system for adults should be extended. Dr. Hastings Hart has indicated some of the present difficulties: "the courts have been slow to apply it and have very limited means of determining the fitness of individuals for this treatment; and partly because of the difficulties in obtaining trained and qualified probation officers; this difficulty being increased in many cases by the mischievous interference of partisan political influences in the selection of probation officers."

Prisoners Should Be Put To Work

The indefinite sentence should be rigidly applied. Prussia and Mexico have tried it with very

satisfactory results. The prisoner should know that he can return sooner to society by good behavior and application to work. "Good behavior" should mean preparation for life in a free, civilized society, not soldierly discipline under the military heel of prison officialdom. "Application to work" should mean a workday and workweek in conformity with trade union standards at decent and remunerative toil. The state use system should be honestly applied. The New York State Federation of Labor has declared for "modern standard shops and up-to-date equipment for all prisons; the employment of practical and skilled industrial foremen and instructors," as well as for putting the delinquents to work on a long-range reforestation program of the state. There should be an elementary and vocational education system in every penal institution. Civilian employees should be under strict civil service, trained for their tasks, and paid adequate salaries. All prisons should be centralized under one head. The county and city jails should be investigated and thoroughly cleaned up. Says Dr. Hart in reference to our county jails:

> The old British system of making the county jails a perquisite of the sheriffs was imported from Great Britain to this country 300 years ago and it persists to the present day. The sheriffs themselves have sufficient employment with their other duties in the courts and elsewhere. They appoint as jailers and turnkeys men who assisted them to secure their election and who are expected to assist them in a re-election. A very large part of the jailers are selected without reference to their experience or special qualifications for the work, and in consequence of the election of a new sheriff oftentimes new and inexperienced officers are appointed and the entire personnel is changed. Sporadic efforts have been made to change this system in different states of the Union but without success. The most practical way to remove the existing evils is that which has been successful in foreign countries, namely to centralize the control of the jails in competent hands in the several state governments with such provision as to eliminate partisan political control.

In the same connection, this noted authority has stated that women "awaiting trial or serving short sentences in municipal prisons and county jails suffer even more than male prisoners from the vices of the jail system. It is fair to say that no one police station or one county jail out of ten has adequate provision for the segregation and individual treatment of women."

Twentieth Century Methods

We shall not go forward to a twentieth century treatment of crime until we recognize also that "crime is in large measure rooted in our social and economic system." The Socialist Party is the only party that believes in attacking crime at its capitalistic source.

The research director of the subcommission on causes of crime, of the New York Crime Commission, declared in an address on January 28th, 1930, that the slums were breeding places of crime. He urged more playgrounds and the establishment of clinics in the public schools, as well as better parental care. Is this not a damning indictment of private enterprise and the two old parties? What have they done to abolish the slums of New York City? There are still 1,700,000 people living in the old law tenements, built before 1901. What have they done to establish an adequate number of playgrounds in Manhattan and Brooklyn? The people have asked in vain for a minimum expenditure for recreational facilities from a city with a budget of over half a billion dollars. What have they done to enable parents to properly bring up their children? They have given the average wage earner low wages, long hours, fear of unemployment, sickness and old age; they have made the mother and children enter industry; they have destroyed the home.

So conservative a person as Wade H. Ellis of the American Bar Association's Crime Commission, declared on June 24, 1930, that the foremost

cause of the increased crime in the United States was "our tremendous growth in wealth, which has made for wastefulness, extravagance and display and tempted the weak to the acquisition of easy money." Has Mr. Wade given away the secret of capitalism itself? Is there any doubt that the present system is fundamentally and essentially immoral, unjust, and a "crime" upon the great mass of producers and consumers? Is it any wonder that so-called criminals are tempted to take illegally by force what the rulers of our capitalistic society take legally by exploitation of laborer and consumer?

An adequate treatment of crime and the criminal calls for an economic philosophy, program, and political party which has for its goal the abolition of capitalism,—a system which breeds crime and criminals. It calls for an understanding of modern penology and a will to apply its findings, without fear or favor, and freed from partisan politics. Society's crime against the criminal can only be ended when society itself is changed, from that of an eighteenth century vengeful, individualistic, and anarchistic order to that of a twentieth century humanitarian, sympathetic, collectivistic and cooperative social order.

FOR YOUR CHILDREN'S SAKE

Vote the Straight Socialist Ticket

DECENT HOMES WITHIN PEOPLE'S MEANS

1. We demand enabling legislation to permit municipalities to build and rent homes to the people at cost.

2. We favor the extension of public credit to home builders and the encouragement, by financial aid, of genuine cooperative enterprises.

3. We demand legislation providing state-wide minimum standards of ventilation, sanitation and safety in the construction of multiple dwellings.

Benjamin Parker, the English architect and town planning expert, after a visit to the tenements of New York City, declared:

The duty has devolved upon me to get to know Portugese and Brazilian slums as few know them. I also know the notorious slums of Dublin and on its being asserted that Liverpool had the worst slums in Great Britain, I enticed those who made this assertion to show me Liverpool's slums. I have spent many midnights and other hours in the slums of Edinburgh with those who well knew all their intricacies and ramifications. I have been taken to the worst slums in Berlin. I know Italian, Belgian, Dutch and Norwegian slums, and the conditions of life in any slums I have ever seen are better than they are in the slums of New York.

The housing situation in New York City, however, is more or less well known and is taken for granted by the two old political parties, who have allowed it to continue for generations. But bad housing is not confined to the largest city of our state. After an exhaustive study, the State Housing Board noted in its 1929 report that even worse conditions prevailed in some of the smaller up-state communities. It found three and four-story wooden tenements without fire-escapes, which were veritable firetraps. It discovered unsanitary conditions worthy of the Middle Ages,

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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yard toilets, dark and damp rooms, and plentiful rear and alley tenements. Housing is a state-wide problem.

In 1929 there were 1,700,000 people living in the old-law tenements of New York City, built before 1901. The new tenement law, which went into effect that year, "forced certain changes with reference to lightless rooms, toilets, fire-escapes, skylights, and the lighting of halls." Of the 100-odd persons who annually lose their lives as a result of fires in New York City, more than 50 perish in these fire-traps. Their plumbing, heating, and lighting are behind the times. The rooms are small, with little sunlight and poor ventilation. The water supply is inadequate. The halls and courts are dingy and dirty. These old-law tenements are carriers of disease and not fit for human habitation. It is stated by authorities that at the rate of their present demolition these tenements will still be in use 50 years from today. They can never be altered sufficiently to meet the minimum standards of a civilized age. And yet, the old parties and private enterprise have practically done nothing for these hundreds of thousands, one-fourth of the population of the greatest city of the greatest and richest nation on earth, who live in the slums of New York.

Failure of Private Enterprise

Of the new tenements built in New York City very few rent for less than $12.50 per room per month. A paltry six per cent in 1924, and only 15 per cent of the new apartments of 1925 and 1926 rented for less than $19.50 a room per month, while the overwhelming majority were let for $20 and over a room.

The average wage-earner cannot afford to spend more than about $28 a month for rent, on the basis of four rooms at $7 each. This amount takes about 25 per cent of his wages, a high percentage. It is true that there are workingmen

earning more than $30 a week, but the number actually receiving such wages 52 weeks in the year is small. The housing commission appointed by Governor Smith frankly admitted: "At all times and all places private enterprise has been unable to provide adequate housing to meet the needs of the underlying population."

Efforts of the state to stimulate private builders to house the poor and the average wage-earner have so far miserably failed. The two old political parties stand condemned by the palpable facts! Tax-exemption, excess condemnation, limited-interest housing corporations, and sample housing projects, have not provided homes for those who cannot pay $15 a room rent. There have been a few cooperative ventures and a few more philanthropic efforts, but outside of these, all the talk about housing for the poor has been—talk. And the Democratic Party, with its leaders in Albany and New York City, has been the loudest in talk and—most ineffective in deed.

The Democratic Party controls the government of New York City root and branch. It could, if it wished, secure the power from the state legislature to provide decent housing within the workers' means. It never wanted to, and it never will do so, as long as it is the Democratic Party of the real estate interests, the landlords, public utility magnates, manufacturers, bankers, department store owners, private contractors, in a word, of the coupon-clipping, profit-taking, and rent-extracting parasites of our iniquitous social order.

Municipal Housing Only Way Out

The platform of the Socialist Party demands enabling legislation to permit municipalities to build and rent homes to the people at cost. The Socialists point to the failure of all previous methods dependent upon private enterprise. We point with pride to Socialist Vienna and we demand municipal housing in the United States as

the only way out. Building on a large scale, with almost unlimited credit at a low rate of interest, the city could erect houses at a minimum of cost. The city could give far better service at lower cost than a landlord class whose sole concern is to get the largest possible rental for the least possible service. The city would not build a single dark room or a fire-trap hallway. The city would replace the ignorance and indifference of the profit-seeking speculative builder by the skill of experts and would use the best construction. It would eliminate the profit motive and give a public service to the millions of people of our state.

The Socialist Party platform favors the extension of public credit to home builders and the encouragement, by financial aid, of genuine cooperative enterprises. Every bona fide cooperative housing society should be given material aid by city and state. The houses of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the Bronx, built by a working class cooperative organization, are convincing proof of the soundness and feasibility of cooperative housing. If public credit were extended to such societies their growth would be rapid. They are of great benefit to the whole community, because they introduce a higher standard of beauty, safety, and comfort, and at the same time tend to keep rentals down.

Finally, the Socialist Party platform demands legislation providing state-wide minimum standards of ventilation, sanitation and safety in the construction of multiple dwellings. At present every city except New York is free to make its own building code. There is no control by the state, and the result is that throughout New York State we find ram-shackle slum areas, where old, insanitary wooden fire-traps, with unlighted and unventilated rooms are crowded side by side with steam laundries, garages, stores, bakeries, and every other kind of building. Local landlords are

usually strong enough to defeat any attempt at local reform.

We Socialists demand a state law to apply to every city, town, and village. We demand protection to the millions in all parts of the state against the criminal incompetence and profiteering of the landlords and speculators.

ABOLISH LABOR INJUNCTIONS

We unreservedly support the demand of organized labor that no injunction shall be issued in any dispute except after full trial of all issues in open court, and that all proceedings to punish for contempt in such actions be tried by a jury, presided over by a judge other than the one who issued the injunction.

We believe, however, that the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes, no matter in what manner and on what grounds, is unjustifiable and oppressive, and we demand the enactment of appropriate legislation or constitutional amendment to prohibit this misuse of the injunctive process.

We demand legislation declaring illegal the "yellow dog" contracts which prevent the workers from joining trade unions.

The Socialist Party demands the abolition of the practice of issuing injunctions in labor disputes. Organized labor, conservative as well as radical, demands it. A large body of liberal-minded citizens join in that demand. The Socialist Party, organized labor, and liberal folk also demand that the "yellow dog" contracts, which prevent the workers from joining trade unions, be declared illegal.

Injunctions in labor disputes and "yellow dog" contracts all but nullify the rights of the workers to organize, to strike, to picket or to bargain collectively. These rights are vital. Without them the workers will be reduced to the position of industrial serfs whose treatment will depend upon the benevolence or cruelty of their industrial masters. Such a situation is intolerable to free men and women.

At this point it might be well to briefly set forth the meaning of an injunction. An injunction is an order issued by a court of equity commanding a person or persons to perform some act, or restraining a person or persons from the commission or continuance of some act. The general purpose of an injunction is that injury to property be prevented as distinguished from being redressed. An injunction possesses a peculiarly effective value. It furnishes a kind of relief which can hardly be obtained in any other form. It is swift, peremptory and direct.

Abuse of Courts of Equity

An injunction is issued by a court of equity as distinguished from a court of law. A court of equity is supposed to be what the name implies, a tribunal to give equitable relief. It is rooted deep in the history of the law of England. It was designed to relieve the people from the harsh results arising from the rigid and unbending technicalities of the common law. In other words, it was intended to do substantial justice between parties, rather than "legal" justice.

Organized labor and the Socialist Party question whether courts of equity are living up to their historic tradition or theoretic purpose in labor controversies. They declare that these courts have been used by rich and powerful employers to crush strikes, prevent organization of the unorganized, and to weakening the fighting power of the labor movement.

After all, what does the employer want when he applies for an injunction against a labor union? Nothing less than to have the purpose for which the strike was called, the means employed and the tactics used by the union, passed upon by a judge and given either judicial sanction or veto. Of course the employer wants the judicial veto. If in addition to his own economic strength, the employer can throw the weight of the court against the union he surely is enormously aided. And the courts and judges have permitted themselves to be used by the employers against the workers.

Defects of Procedure

The methods and procedure in the issuance of injunctions are altogether unfair to the workers. Briefly, there are three phases to the procedure: (1) the temporary injunction; (2) the injunction *pendente lite*; and (3) the permanent injunction.

The temporary injunction is obtained on affidavits, without a hearing being given to the union representatives and is intended to continue only until the argument on the return day of the motion. As a matter of fact, this "temporary" injunction sometimes continues for four, five or more weeks before the judge decides whether the temporary injunction was obtained properly or not. In the meantime, the union is restained from picketing and from other activities. If issued in a crucial moment during a strike the injunction has the effect of crippling the union. Hence, even if the union proves to be in the right and it wins on the argument, the temporary injunction has already done its damage and determined the fate of the strike.

The injunction *pendente lite* is obtained after a hearing has been held before a judge, on the basis of affidavits prepared by both sides. The court does not see the witnesses. There is no examination and opportunity for cross-examination. There are none of the safeguards of a trial. Very often the court grants injunctions *pendente lite* on affidavits which are either wholly false or which state half-truths. Later, perhaps a year after the injunction was issued,—and the strike broken—a permanent injunction on the merits of the case is denied. In the meantime the damage has been done.

Trial By Jury

The platform of the Socialist Party says that until such time as the labor injunction has been abolished by legislative enactment or constitutional amendment, "no injunction shall be issued in

any dispute except after full trial of all issues in open court." In other words, before the damage has been done, before the injunction has been issued, there should be a full and fair trial of all the facts in the case, in accordance with tried and true Anglo-Saxon procedure. Furthermore, and most important, when a worker is accused of violating an injunction he ought not be hailed before the judge who issued the injunction and sentenced without trial by jury, as well as deprived of the safeguards surrounding even an ordinary criminal. The Socialist Party demands that "all proceedings to punish for contempt in such actions be tried by a jury, presided over by a judge other than the one who issued the injunction." The accused worker is entitled to a fair trial before an unbiased judge. The injunction and the "yellow dog" contract must go the way of the anti-conspiracy laws. They must be abolished.

MOTHERS

Vote Socialist

AN APPEAL TO WOMEN

ELIZABETH C. ROTH
Candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Socialist Party

Industrial developments have robbed America of a cherished ideal, the sanctity of the home, the home in which the mother looked after and sheltered her family, provided for her by the husband and father.

The simple tool of old, the tool that was used at home or by the artisan was replaced by the machine. Craftsmanship and production for use were replaced by production for profit. This change in the method of production of the needs of life brought about a very significant change in our homes.

The mother saw her children leave school and home for the mill, the store, and the factory. It was the boys first, and then the girls. When the struggle for bread became more keen, even children of tender years were forced into the industrial world, and finally, the mother was compelled to enter the factory as well.

The natural desire for motherhood is being denied women. For many, home and family have been destroyed.

Even before woman began to think in terms of her responsibility for industrial conditions, she felt the injustice and inhumanity of child labor, of the destitution of the aged, the periodic unemployment of her husband and brother, in a word, the curse of insecurity that beset her life and that of her near and dear ones. Powerless, in the face of a force that she did not quite understand, she suffered in silence.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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She felt that it was all wrong. She saw that the food bought for her children was often adulterated; that the school to which she sent her children was often overcrowded, that the value of the dollar in the pay envelope was decreasing. With a woman's intuition she saw that if there was to be a solution, it must come through woman's participation in the affairs of life.

Power of the Ballot

She demanded a place equal to that of man. The nineteenth amendment to our constitution gave our women equal political rights with their husbands and brothers. It put a weapon in their hands and the duty to use that weapon in defense of their children, themselves and their husbands.

There can be no decent family life without proper housing. That ought to be the concern of women. Millions of dollars are spent by municipalities and the state for all sorts of things, many of them useless—not a dollar for decent housing within the average worker's means.

In large cities, where millions live crowded together, proper sanitation is vital to the health of the people. Women are deeply concerned about that.

Even the woman who is fortunate to escape the shop or factory, and remain at home, has no happy lot. She must meet the family budget on inadequate funds. She must find the rent, meet the grocer's bills, pay the butcher and numerous others. She has to pay the profits of the public utility magnates.

Public ownership and operation of our necessary public utilities, transit, gas, electricity, telephone, would cut the cost of living.

Electrification of the home would lighten the burden of women. It is not done because electric current is too costly. If electricity were distributed by public agencies at cost the women in the home would be the greatest beneficiaries.

The curse of unemployment is the concern of women, even of those who are home makers. Insurance against unemployment can be effected by a government law. Women are interested in that.

Care of the aged, those who have given their lives to industry, is but simple justice. The industrial worker should be treated at least as well as the military man, and receive a pension at sixty.

Women have the responsibility, together with the men, of lifting from the children the weight of ignorance, disease, and crime.

Women must take their places in the mighty battle of freedom—freedom from the nightmare of insecurity, freedom from militarism and war, freedom from the oppression of the workers by the exploiters, freedom from hate and superstition, freedom from capitalism. They must march in step with their brothers in the fight for a new social order.

For Lieutenant Governor

Elizabeth C. Roth

For Attorney General

William Karlin

For Controller

William H. Hilsdorf

NEEDED: A SOCIALIST AS ATTORNEY GENERAL

WILLIAM KARLIN

Candidate for Attorney General, Socialist Party

The Attorney General is head of the Department of Law of the State of New York. He is Chairman of the Board of Canvassers in the Department of State. He is a Commissioner of the Land Office and a member of the Water Power and Control Commission.

Great would be the power of the people, and particularly of the workers, if a Socialist were elected to that extraordinarily important office.

Under the present administration of the state government, the attorney general has signally failed to properly exercise the functions of his office. There is a complete breakdown of public regulation of all public utilities in New York State. No one can be blamed for that condition more than the present attorney general. Had he used the influence of his high office as head of the law department and as member of the Water Power and Control Commission on the people's side of the struggle between them and the water power trust, there would be a different story to tell regarding the distribution of electricity in the state of New York. Of course, his predecessors, both Democratic and Republican, are also to blame, but bad example is no excuse.

If I were elected attorney general of the state of New York, I would exert all the powers of my office in favor of the direct distribution of electricity generated from public waterpower plants.

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Hitherto, the attorney generals of the state, in utter disregard of their oath of office, have permitted the alienation of power sites, which under their very eyes have passed into private hands. Legislatures gave over to the power interests properties worth hundreds of millions of dollars without a single protest from the attorney general. Thus the people are compelled by the private distributors of public power to pay three times as much for electric current as its costs to produce. Instead of making waterpower the people's servant, the Democratic and Republican administrations have presented it as a gift to the people's task master, the power trust.

Public Office for Sale

Equally negligent is the present attorney general with respect to other matters of public interest. In New York a Tammany leader is accused of accepting a cash bribe in return for which he secured the appointment of a typical Tammany henchman to the bench. As head of the law department of the state of New York, the attorney general, though a Republican, left it to a Tammany district attorney to whitewash the mayor and the high Tammany leaders who appointed that magistrate.

Similar conditions have been found to apply to many other public officials in the state, and in most cases the attorney general has failed in his duties in behalf of the public interest. The people know that the buying and selling of public office does not apply merely to the inferior office holders, but that the same system reaches up to the highest positions as well. It should be the first duty of the law department of the state of New York to use its extraordinary facilities to uncover this state of corruption and uproot it completely. If I were elected attorney general I would use the law department to sweep from public office all those guilty of corrupt practices.

Violations of Election Law

Even more wilfully negligent is the present Republican attorney general in permitting his Tammany friends to violate the provisions of the election law. He has permitted Tammany to have floaters by the thousands in New York City, and to deny the people in many districts the right to secret voting. He has permitted Tammany to count out candidates who received a majority or plurality of the votes in certain elections. If I were elected attorney general of the state of New York I would use the law department to insure the people the full protection of the law in every election district in the state.

The failure of the attorney general to exercise his duty and stop the violations of the election law I attribute to the fact that the Democratic and Republican parties of the city and state, by negotiation of the party chiefs, have divided the public spoils among the professional politicians and the private corporations.

To make the office of attorney general worthy of the state, and to infuse into our state government a new spirit, a Socialist spirit, it is necessary that a Socialist be elected to that high and key office.

WHY LABOR SHOULD SUPPORT ITS OWN PARTY

WILLIAM H. HILSDORF
Candidate for Controller, Socialist Party

We have reached a turning point in the history of the American labor movement. Millions are unemployed. Machines are displacing men. Workers are being scrapped at the age of 45 and 50. We are the only modern country without an adequate system of social insurance. Whither shall American labor turn? Backward or forward?

There is no question but that labor organizations have secured great benefits for their members and for the entire working class. They have maintained the right to organize. They have forced an open discussion of the rights and wrongs of the workers by the workers themselves. They have asserted the right to strike. They have obtained higher wages for organized and for unorganized toilers. They have shortened hours and improved the conditions of factory, mine, and mill. They have compelled some labor legislation. The trade unions are the backbone of the labor movement. Without them the workers are lost.

The late congressman, Victor L. Berger, used to say that the labor movement has two arms, the economic and political. The American trade unions have not used the economic arm sufficiently and effectively as they ought in their battle with capitalism. They have not ever seriously tried to use their political arm. The non-partisan plan of rewarding friends and defeating enemies is admittedly a makeshift, a woefully weak and hopeless policy.

The leaders of organized labor in America have no fundamental social program of reconstruction and have no educated army to carry it out, if they did have one. They employ an opportunist policy of drift. They do not determine to any extent political results and they do not put through their legislative program. They do not pick candidates in the primaries. They merely endorse nominees chosen for them by one or the other of the old capitalist parties. They do not write the platforms of the candidates or of the old parties. They do not finance and conduct their campaigns. And they do not control them in case they are elected. It is only the rare exception, such as a Robert M. La Follette, who dares to stand up against his party and represent the workers at all times.

Legally Worse Off Than In 1914

The non-partisan program of the American Federation of Labor has failed. The story of the Clayton Act is typical. No greater hoax was ever perpetrated on American labor than the paragraphs of this act adopted in 1914 under the Wilson administration and pretending to restrict the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes. John P. Frey, one of the outstanding defenders of the non-partisan policy, reported to the Metal Trades Department convention of 1929: "So far as judicial decisions are concerned we are in a less favorable position than before the war. The scope of injunctions has increased to such an extent that trade unionists are now enjoined from protecting their organization from destruction by organized employers, and are also restrained from making any effort to organize the employees of an employer or group of employers who are in opposition. In other respects, the extension of the use of the injunction has bound us hand and foot to face the fury of the employer's opposition." What an admission from a leading proponent of the non-partisan policy! If this be the fruit of half

a century of rewarding friends and defeating enemies, away with it!

When labor attempts to organize it is met by a hostile court, which has upheld the vicious and strangling "yellow dog" contract. It is also deprived of traditional American civil rights. One writer has tersely expressed the situation: "Attempts to organize workers in even the most conservative, conciliatory, and law-abiding unions are in most parts of the United States, and particularly in the basic industries, immediately the occasion for the denial of the civil rights of free speech and assembly . . . Indeed, in parts of the coal mining fields the right of free speech and assemblage is now a dead letter." State constabularies along the lines of the Pennsylvania cossack system are now in existence in at least 20 states.

Labor Must Support Own Party

The time is rotten ripe for independent labor party action. Our break with the two old parties must be complete. The magnificent showing made by Robert M. La Follette in 1924, when he polled 5,000,000 votes, is an indication of the strength of the opposition to the capitalist parties.

The Socialist Party in this campaign is the only party of labor, the only party of opposition to the boss parties, with a constructive and evolutionary program. In office, the Socialists of Milwaukee and Reading have shown that they are labor parties, in deeds, not platform promises. At Milwaukee recently the state legislative boards of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Locomotive Engineers, and the Railroad Trainmen, in joint session, condemned Congressman John C. Shafer of the fourth district and unanimously endorsed William F. Quick, Socialist candidate from that district. Despite Shafer's membership in two railroad unions, his obligations to his capitalist party made him support some of the most reactionary legislation affecting the railroad brotherhoods, including two vicious amendments to the railroad labor bill offered by Congressman Blanton of Texas. Would any trade unionist ever question James H. Maurer, alderman of Reading, and former president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor?

The economic and political program of the trade unions is included in the daily work and scope of the Socialist movement. Everything progressive that the unions want the Socialists want, and more. The Socialist Party is the party of the workers, of hand and brain, of the salaried workers and the manual workers, of the organized and unorganized. A vote for the Socialist Party is a vote for more and stronger unionism, for a militant labor movement, for a working class which will become "conscious of its role in social evolution, fearless, independent and self-reliant." It is a vote for a better, saner, juster, and more brotherly social order.

A PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM

DARWIN J. MESEROLE
Candidate for Associate Judge, Court of Appeals

The function of the courts in a democracy is of supreme importance. It is said that we are a nation ruled by law and not by men. And so long as the judiciary can be kept free from corruption, and the people are interested enough to see that able, clean, and socially-minded lawyers are nominated and elected to our higher courts, these courts will help and not hinder the cause of social justice.

The vital part played by the Court of Appeals of New York State and the Supreme Court of the United States is when these judicial bodies pass upon the constitutionality of the laws enacted by the state legislature and by the Congress. The progress of society towards a juster social order may be temporarily and dangerously retarded, or greatly advanced by the decisions of the men—and soon, it is hoped, women—holding high judicial office.

An independent and high-minded jurist conceives of his duty and the use of his power as an opportunity to guide and direct the course of human society toward the greatest common good, and does not become a slave to legal precedent or seek to maintain the existing order when that order is unjust and outworn.

While the function of the judge—especially of our highest court—is to interpret laws and not to make them, yet his high office should not deter him, as a citizen, from advising in regard to needed legislation or from strongly and fearlessly advocating laws for the righting of social or economic wrongs.

Unemployment Situation Very Grave

Our nation for the last ten months has been passing through a major industrial and economic crisis —the third such catastrophe within fifteen years—and yet, despite many assurances to the contrary, we were as unprepared to meet it as we were in the similar periods of 1914-15 and 1920-21.

And now when 6,000,000 or more workers have been idle for almost a year—comprising with those dependent upon them for support, 20 per cent of our population—the situation has not improved since government and business assumed social responsibility for unemployment through the president's conferences last November. The condition of the people has become desperate.

In this emergency neither our state nor the nation has taken adequate action, through the administrative or legislative branches of government, to cope with the situation.

If the human suffering involved does not move our governments and business men to remedy such conditions it would seem as though, from self-interest, the economic cost and imminent menace would compel action and remedial measures.

Financial Losses

The business depression of 1920-21 cost the business men and investors of our country over $4,000,000,000 in net income (1920, $4,500,000,000; 1921, $450,000,000,—four per cent and one per cent respectively on the business done in these years); comparing 1921 with 1919, the loss was $8,000,000,000; and the loss in wages and salaries in 1921, compared with 1920, was over $7,000,000,000.

In the present depression—which is greater in intensity and duration than that of 1921—the cost each month to the business men and investors is not less than one-half a billion dollars and to the workers another half billion—one billion dollars a month.

The danger in such a situation must be apparent to all, and yet those who have power to act and remedy these evils, not only do not take action, but by the publication of optimistic statements seek to minimize the conditions, making it doubly hard to arouse public opinion in support of remedial measures.

It is elementary social justice that all workers, in a country with the inexhaustible resources and wealth of the United States, are entitled to employment, or, failing that, to support by industry or government, when the machinery of production has created a surplus which cannot be absorbed by the small wages paid the workers, or sold at a profit by the owners of the machines.

Public Works Give Employment

In such unemployment cycles and business depressions as the present, the platforms of the Socialist Party for the past thirty years have set forth the demand that government should provide employment by the inauguration of great public works, such as roads, afforestation, reclamation of waste lands, and the development of water power.

This same principle has also been accepted by the best economic thought of the nation for many years past and has recently been advocated by religious and social welfare groups, and by many socially-minded business men and legislators.

States and cities should at once expand public works to the extent permitted by their resources and constitutional limitations. The federal government, representing the whole people and being the only political division which is unrestricted in its power of expenditure and taxation should assume the chief part of the burden. The limit of such action by Congress should only be the need of the unemployed for work and of business for stabilization.

Unemployment can be ended only by employ-

ment. An adequate public works program will provide this employment, and will also furnish the purchasing power which will stimulate all the normal industries of the country.

FORWARD TO SOCIALISM

MORRIS HILLQUIT
Chairman, Socialist Party of America

On the 4th of November the citizens of New York will be called upon to elect the executive heads of the state government, both houses of the legislature, many important local officials and the full state delegation to the House of Representatives.

Because of New York's leading position among the states its elections are always of national importance, but the electoral battle of this year is particularly significant on account of the special conditions under which it is fought.

All national, state and local campaigns of the old parties after 1916 have been conducted on frivolous and meaningless issues and almost entirely on the comparative personal qualities of the opposing candidates. The most vital social and economic problems were completely ignored. The country had forgotten its political thinking. Politics degenerated into a stupid or sordid game.

The wave of prosperity which swept this country as a result of the abnormal needs of the World War and the subsequent industrial paralysis of Europe enabled our government and ruling political parties to muddle through without steering wheel or compass, without policy or program.

But our much boasted prosperity proved as unstable as it was accidental. With the passing of the abnormal conditions to which it owed its rise, it collapsed like a house of cards. Colossal paper fortunes of mushroom growth disappeared overnight. Frenzied industrial and financial promo-

tions were succeeded by general stagnation, bankruptcy and disaster. The wheels of industry, heretofore so feverishly revolving, suddenly halted. Production, transportation and commerce became demoralized. Millions of workers in all fields of employment were deprived of their jobs and earnings practically without warning.

Plight of the Aged and Unemployed

The temporary unemployment caused by the present industrial crisis has brought into bold relief the alarming fact, theretofore generally ignored, of the existence in this land of plenty, of millions of workers made permanently jobless by recent technical "progress." Within about the last ten years the labor-saving machinery employed in the factories, on the farms and the railroads, has been so improved and perfected and the process of labor has been so thoroughly organized and "scientifically" regulated, that the work of the nation can be done in much less time or by much fewer workers than before.

The private and socially irresponsible owners of our industries have chosen the latter alternative and have displaced hosts of workers with the introduction of every new labor-saving device.

The first and most pitiful victims of this process of "displacement" have been the workers of more advanced age.

Under the intense and health consuming system of modern factory management the labor reserve and life energy of the worker is often exhausted in twenty or thirty years. Workers of fifty years and sometimes younger are discarded as "superannuated," with no hope of employment for the rest of their lives.

There is nothing more tragic and damning than the lot of these innocent victims of our senseless, heartless economic system of private profiteering. Having given their lives and health in the service of their fellow men and built up colossal fortunes

for their masters, they are mercilessly discarded in every industrial depression brought about by the recklessness of the ruling classes and at the first signs of approaching old age. Organized society assumes no obligations to these, its faithful servants. Our government leaves them to their own resources, to beg or to starve.

The presence of this permanent and growing army of unemployed is moreover a constant and serious menace to the labor standards of the workers who happen to have jobs.

With the growing precariousness of their existence and the high cost of living maintained through capitalist monopolies and exorbitant import taxes, the American workers face a grave and desperate problem.

The American farmers mercilessly exploited by capitalist forces in the raising and marketing of their produce face a problem of similar alarming seriousness.

Danger of Another War

The whole people of this country are face to face with most vital and pressing economic and social problems. One of the most disquieting of these is our growing militarism. Twelve years after the victorious termination of the "war to end all wars," our government which has no funds for the relief of the unemployed workers, spends fabulous and rapidly increasing sums of money on military and naval armaments, thus stimulating the fatal international rivalry in militarism and preparing the ground for a new world war, which may mean the collapse of modern civilization.

These are problems which all political parties worthy of the name must frankly face in these trying times and which they must honestly attempt to solve. The Republican and Democratic parties offer no solution for these problems in their state or congressional platforms. They ignore

them completely or dispose of them with a few meaningless phrases or empty promises. Both old parties attempt to divert the attention of the voters from the burning questions of the day to the stultifying issue of the liquor traffic or to the personal qualifications of their candidates.

In a political democracy government is exercised by parties, not by men. Every candidate for public office is tied to his party and cannot rise above it. The citizens of New York have the best proof of this truth in the total political failure of Governor Roosevelt. In spite of his personal progressiveness and good intentions his administration has not produced a single substantial measure for the relief of the workers. He has proved unable to check the scandalous maladministration and corruption in the city of New York and has been compelled to acquiesce in the brazen farce of the mayor's so-called investigation—an investigation of Tammany, by Tammany, for Tammany.

The Socialist party has named candidates for public office second to none of their opponents in ability and character, but it does not rely solely or even largely on the personal qualifications of its nominees. It solicits the support of the voters primarily on the basis of its principles and program.

The Socialist party is the only officially recognized party in this state which frankly and fearlessly faces the fundamental social and economic problems of our time and offers their only feasible and complete solution.

For the immediate relief of the workers it proposes a drastic shortening of the workday in keeping with the advance of labor-saving devices; public works on a large scale; unemployment relief by the government; old-age pensions and government insurance against loss of earnings through sickness or accident.

For the farmers it proposes a complete program of relief based upon their special needs and requirements.

For the maintenance of world peace it proposes rapid reduction of armaments and ultimate disarmament by international treaties as well as by independent example.

A Campaign for Socialism

But the Socialists realize that all these measures of relief, important as they may be, are not the complete or final cure of the evils under which the world suffers. Unemployment, poverty and uncertainty of life, political corruption, class wars and war among nations are the inevitable result of our economic system which permits our basic industries, the sources and means of our daily lives, to be owned by private individuals and concerns, who operate them individually and planlessly for their own profits in fierce competition at home and abroad and without regard to the public needs and public welfare.

The ultimate aim of the Socialist party is to supplant this anarchistic, oppressive, hate- and war-breeding system by a scientifically organized industrial plan, in which the machinery of wealth production will be owned collectively by the people and operated for the benefit of all.

The system of private ownership of the industries is breaking down all over the world, and everywhere the growing forces of a new and better social order are organizing to take over the governments of the nations and states from the hands of the incompetent and predatory ruling classes and to begin reorganizing our industrial life on a basis of sanity, fairness and peace. This is the meaning of the English Labor party, now governing the great British Empire, of the Social Democracy of Germany with its ten million votes, of the Socialist parties in France, Belgium, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and the other advanced countries of Europe, which at this time approach the final and decisive struggle between destructive capitalism and constructive Socialism.

The Socialist Party is part of this world-wide movement. It aims to build up in this country and state a political force of similar power and significance to those of the great Socialist and Labor parties abroad. Every advance of the movement, every increase of its vote brings it a step nearer to realization.

From the point of view of the intelligent worker and the progressive liberty and peace-loving citparty ticket will count infinitely more than the izen, a single additional vote for the Socialist talist and reactionary old parties.

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